The QUESTION of Witchcraft DEBATED.

Or a Diſcourſe againſt their Opinion that affirm Witches, Conſidered and enlarged.

The Second *Edition*.

By the Author *John Wagſtaffe*.

Cic. Lib. 2. de Divinat.

Nam ut verè loquamur, ſuperſtitio fuſa per orbem oppreſſit omnium fere animos, atq; hominum occupavit imbecillitatem.

For to ſpeak the truth, Superſtition having over-run the World, hath daſtarded almoſt every one's ſpirit, taking it's advantage from the frailty of man.

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THE PREFACE.

THe zealous affirmers of Witchcraft, think it no ſlander, to charge all thoſe who deny it with Atheiſm. As if forſooth the denyal of Spirits and God did neceſſarily follow the denyal of Witches: *An Errour ſo groſs, that it doth not deſerve a confutation. This I am ſure of, that the affirmers of* Witchcraft, *may more juſtly be accounted* Heathens, *than the deniers of it* Atheiſts; *In regard their opinion, doth neceſſarily infer plurali-*

ty of Gods, by attributing omnipotent effects to more than one. And truely those effects of Witchcraft *are so ridiculously absurd, and some of them so impossible for all the Devils in Hell to compass, that 'tis apparent, they are partly founded in mistaken interpretations of Scripture, partly in the knavish and gainful impostures of some men, partly in the vain foolish credulity and frightful fancies of other men. All which I hope to make appear in this following discourse: so that the Reader may plainly perceive, that although I readily grant and acknowledge Spirits, there is no such need I should grant their contracts with men and women. For these contracts being not to be known, but by their effects, I see no reason to acknowledge them, unless any one will undertake to give a good account of their effects: Which as yet I see no one hath done, neither from Scripture, nor History, nor solid reason: for I do not at all value*

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Platonick Dreams, Similitudes, and fabling Whimſies.

THE PREFACE conſidered.

I *Have often read over, and duly conſidered that Treatiſe of mine, which oppoſeth the abſurd opinion of* Witchcraft. *Nor do I find any reaſon at all, to repent of what I have written, but to rejoyce in it rather. For if the life of man be pretious, as without doubt it is; then it cannot be labour in vain, to endeavour the ſaving of innocent perſons, from torture and death it ſelf: eſpecially by ſuch means, as are agreeable to the Scriptures, and in no wiſe contrariant to Church or State. Indeed the Aſſertors of* Witchcraft *do frequently*

object Atheiſme unto thoſe that deny it. But I am ſtill of opinion, that ſuch a ridiculous ſlander, is not worthy to be anſwered: as alſo that it is no ſlander, but a real truth, to charge their opinion with the ſavour of Heatheniſm, which I ſhall thus ſyllogiſtically make appear:

That opinion which introduceth more Gods than one, is Heatheniſh.

But the opinion of Witchcraft *doth introduce more Gods than one.*

Therefore the opinion of Witchcraft *is Heatheniſh.*

That opinion which ſuppoſeth many Omnipotents and many Omniſcients, doth introduce more Gods than one.

But the opinion of Witchraft *ſuppoſeth many Omnipotents and many Omniſcients.*

Therefore the opinion of Witch-

craft *doth introduce more Gods than one.*

That opinion which ſuppoſeth the Devil can create, transform, raiſe the dead, and propheſie of future contingents, doth ſuppoſe many Omnipotents, and many Omniſcients.

But the opinion of Witchcraft *doth ſuppoſe the Devil can create, transform, raiſe the dead, and propheſie of future contingents.*

Therefore the opinion of Witchcraft *doth ſuppoſe many Omnipotents and Omniſcients.*

To the major I know not what can be anſwered, unleſs any one ſhould be ſo fooliſh as to ſay, that the Devil doth theſe things only by Gods permiſſion, and conſequently is not equal unto him. As if any one could do a thing beyond his power, though permitted by another who hath power ſufficient. Can a child lift up from the ground a buſhel of corn, though a ſtrong man who is able to do

it himſelf, ſhould ſtand by and permit him to do it? Or do we think, that the Prophets and Apoſtles in their miraculous works, did act things beyond humane power by Gods permiſſion? Nay rather 'twas God himſelf that acted, but only was pleaſed to make uſe of ſuch times, when the Prophets and Apoſtles either lifted up their hands, or made uſe of any other actions, as ſigns unto the ſtanders by. So that to me it ſeems plain, that if Witches can create, transform, raiſe the dead, and propheſie of future contingents; either God muſt do it for them, which is too great an aſperſion on the Divine goodneſs: or the Devil muſt, which is too great an exaltation of a Creatures knowledge and power.

The Major being firm, there is no way left for the Aſſertors of Witchcraft, *but to deny the Minor, or elſe to give up the Cauſe. The Minor I know there are thoſe that deny: wherein obſerve how unreaſonable and uninſt*

juſt ſuch men are. When they talk againſt thoſe that deny Witches, they cry up the conſent of all ages in affirming them. But I pray you what kind of Witch is it, that hath been believed in all ages? Not ſuch a one as this or that private man, may fancy or define in his own imagination; but ſuch a one, as was thought to be able to perform by the help of the Devil, thoſe wonderful things mentioned in the Minor propoſition. And that this is true; I appeal unto the Scripture, unto the antient Poets, unto Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, unto the cuſtomes and manners of our preſent age. As for the Scripture, The ſtories of Pharoahs *Magicians, and the Witch of* Endor, *are ſufficient to my purpoſe. For in theſe places the Scripture ſpeaks according to the vulgar apprehenſion or opinion of thoſe times. As for the Poets my own quotations out of them do plainly diſcover, what was the opinion of their ages. From them if we come to Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, I might fill a volume*

volume with proofs of my Aſſertion; but ſhall at preſent only refer the Reader unto the Eighteenth Book of Auguſtin de Civitate Dei, *and the Eighteenth Chapter of that Book; where he ſhall find it was commonly believed in* Italy, *that certain women (whom Saint* Auguſtin *calls* Mulieres ſtabulariæ *) could turn men into beaſts. Some hundred of years after, about the time of our* Edward *the Confeſſor, or* William *the Conqueror*, Peter Damian *an eminent Church-man, took the pains to convince Pope* Leo, *that 'twas poſſible for women to do ſuch things; uſing for his Argument, the appearing of* Fauſtimanus *in the ſhape of* Simon Magus. *The occaſion of Pope* Leo's *doubt was, the report of two women in his time, that kept an Inn in the way to* Rome, *and were wont to turn their gueſts into beaſts, that they might ſell them for profit. You may read this pleaſant ſtory in* William of Malmeſbury de geſtis Regum Anglorum, *lib.*

lib. 2. *cap.* 10. *and in* Fulgoſus de dictis & factis memorabilibus, *lib.* 8. *cap.* 11. *But now as to what concerns our preſent age, let every one conſult his own breaſt, and his own memory; then let him tell me whether the raiſing of dead mens ghoſts by Conjurers, the turning of women into cats, and their being hunted in the ſhape of Hares, to mention no more of this traſh, be not things commonly believed to this day: nay, do not our very Nurſes tell us, and have we not heard from our Mothers maids ſuch ſtories as theſe? Inſomuch that they are mingled (if I may ſo ſay) with our milk, and we are nouriſht up in ridiculous lyes and fancies.*

Theſe things being ſo, I ſhall not value what this or that private perſon takes a Witch to be; but boldly, yet not without reaſon, conclude, that the notion of a Witch, as it hath been taken in all ages, is grounded on

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ſuch ſtrange actions or effects, that it plainly appears to be heatheniſh, nay more, to be taken out of the very dregs of heatheniſm, I mean the vulgar belief.

By J. W.

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THE QUESTION OF VVitchcraft DEBATED.

CHAP. I.

That the Bible hath been falſly tranſlated in thoſe places which ſpeak of Witchcraft.

THat abſolute and unlimited power, with which the *Eaſtern* Nations were alwayes govern'd, did require not only the force of Arms, but

but the craft also and tricks of superstition to uphold it: Nor indeed were standing Armies of greater use unto the Oriental Monarchs, for keeping of their people in awe, then Idols were and Priests, and the various impostures used by them; So various, that to enumerate every particular way of deluſion, insisted on by the Heathen Priests of old, is a very difficult task to perform. Wherefore in regard it belongs unto my present purpose and design, to treat of them only so far as they comprehend all that notion of a *Witch*, which may be found in Scripture; I shall in order thereunto, reduce them into these four general Heads of *Juggling*, *Inchanting*, *Conjecturing*, *Divining*.

Jugglers were such as performed strange things in the sight of the common people, to their admiration and astonishment. This they did, either by *Leger de maine*, that is, slight

ſlight of hand; or elſe by *Magick*, that is skill in Natural Philoſophy; or laſtly by a *Familiar*, that is, a confederated perſon privy to the plot, and aſſiſtant to the performance.

Inchanters, were ſuch as with charms or certain compoſures and ſet forms of words, did pretend by vertue thereof, to bleſſe and to curſe, to do good and to do hurt, unto the parties for whom thoſe charms were made. Now theſe two ſorts of Impoſtours may not unaptly be called, the counterfeit *Miracle-mongers* of the Heathens, as the other two that follow may juſtly be called their falſe *Prophets*.

Conjecturers, in their gueſſing at the event of future things, made uſe of Rules, drawn from their own or other mens obſervations, about the Stars, about the Fowls of the Air, about the entrals of ſacrificed

crificed Beaſts, and about many other things needleſſe here to be reckoned up.

Diviners, whom I here call ſo by way of eminence, and of diſtinction from *Conjecturers* (not ignorant that *Divining* taken in a general ſenſe, doth comprehend *Conjecturing* alſo; I ſay *Diviners*) pretended to a higher and more infallible kind of Propheſie, receiving forſooth, their Revelations from ſome Divinity or other; Either from a God, or from a Dæmon, or from the Spirit of a man departed.

Thus did the Heathen Prieſts, with ſubtle and ſly inventions, magnifie the power of their Idol Gods, and ſeduce the fooliſh people to Idolatry. Wherefore theſe impoſtures were ſo hateful in the ſight of God, that the *Iſraelites* are often in the *Moſaical* Law forewarned from them; as being thoſe very abominations, for which the Lord did

did caſt their enemies out of that Land which they were to inherit. But above all places, the Eighteenth Chapter of *Deuteronomy* is moſt remarkable, I mean the ninth, tenth, eleventh and twelfth Verſes of that Chapter, which in our Engliſh Tranſlations runs thus.

When thou art come into the Land which the Lord thy God giveth thee, thou ſhalt not learn to do after the abomination of thoſe Nations.

There ſhall not be found among you any one that maketh his Son or his Daughter to paſs through the fire, or that uſeth Divinations, or an Obſerver of times, or an Inchanter, or a Witch.

Or a Charmer, or a Conſulter with familiar Spirits, or a Wizard, or a Necromancer.

For all that do theſe things are an abomination unto the Lord; and becauſe of theſe abominations, the Lord

thy God ſhall drive them out from before thee.

Now this place in *Deuteronomy*, is therefore highly to be conſidered as to my preſent purpoſe, in regard there is not a word in the Bible importing *Witchcraft*, in any other ſenſe than the words of the Tenth and Eleventh Verſes do. Wherefore if we conſider things aright, *Witchcraft* is not to be found in Scripture, this being the true tranſlation of thoſe two Verſes.

Let there not be found among you any one that maketh his Son or his Daughter paſs through the fire, or that uſeth Divinations, or a Star-gazer, or a Conjecturer, or a Miracle-monger.

Or an Inchanter, or a ſeeker of an Oracle, or a Wizard, or a Necromancer.

Here are to be ſeen three notorious miſtakes of our Engliſh Tranſlatours. The firſt is their calling a

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Conjecturer an *Inchanter*, which why they ſhould I cannot at all imagine, there being not the leaſt hint of ſuch a ſignification in the Hebrew word מנחש Far better was it rendred in the old Tranſlation, *a regarder of the flying of Fowls*, for that is truth, although it be not all the truth: The flight of Fowls being but one way of many, which *Conjecturers* made uſe of. Whereas on the contrary to call a *Conjecturer* an *Inchanter*, hath not the leaſt ſpark of truth in it: An *Inchanter* being the ſame with a *Charmer*, which follows in the next Verſe, & is in the Hebrew חבר a word derived from חבר to ſpeak, pronounce or declare s and not from the ſame word, as it ſignifies to joyn to, or be in leagne with; from whence ſome fondly imagine, that an *Inchanter* is one, who hath a league with the Devil.

The ſecond miſtake of our

Tranſlatours is, their calling a *Miracle-monger a Witch.* The Hebrew word is מכשף, which the Septuagint renders by the Greek word φάρμακον, meaning an impoſtour, not a poyſoner: For it is ridiculous to think, that *Pharaohs Magicians*, *Jezabel* the Queen, and King *Manaſſes*, did exerciſe the Art of poyſoning. Thus in the Eighteenth Chapter of the *Revelations* and the Twenty third Verſe; The word φάρμακεία is neither taken for *Witchcraft*, nor poyſon, but for impoſtures: Though our Tranſlatours have rendred it *Witchcraft*, Now theſe *Miracle-mongers*, or Juggling workers of counterfeit miracles are therefore ſo ſeverely prohibited in the Law of *Moſes*, becauſe they acted ſtrange things in the ſight of the people, to confirm them in falſe Religions. Hence it is, that in the Old Teſtament, where mention is made of Idolatry, you ſhall frequently

quently meet with *Miracle-mongers* and *Southſayers* coupled together. For the Prieſts of an Idol would commonly advance its reputation, by counterfeiting the gifts of *Propheſying* and working *Miracles*, pretendedly received from that God, to whoſe honour the Idol was erected. Nor let any one think that for the performance of theſe *counterfeit-Miracles*, they ſtood in need of the Devils aſſiſtance, for what they performed, either exceeded not the compaſs of humane Art, although miraculous in the eyes of the Vulgar: Or if it did, then it was not really performed, but a meer *Juggling* impoſture. Such kind of *Jugglers* were thoſe, who ſtood before *Pharaoh* in oppoſition to *Moſes* and *Aaron*. For whoſoever believes that *Pharaoh*'s *Magicians* could by the help of Devils turn in an inſtant a ſtick into a Serpent, he doth aſcribe unto the Devil an om-

nipotent creating power, equal unto his who did but ſay, let ſuch a thing be, and it was ſo. St. *Auguſtine* I confeſs doth ſeem to endeavour the evading of this objection by laying down for a maxime, That in the Elements do ſecretly lye hid the ſeeds of all bodies, which when they meet with convenient opportunities, do put forth themſelves and ariſe unto the juſt bounds and figures, due unto their reſpective ſpecies. From hence he doth infer that the Devil in turning the *Magicians* Rods into Serpents, did not create thoſe Serpents, becauſe he produced them out of their ſeeds. But by St. *Auguſtin*'s good leave, though I ſhould grant him, that the ſeed of a Serpent is in a ſtick, yet I would never grant him, that the *Magicians* could ſo ſuddenly bring forth this ſeed into act, for the production of a Serpent. 'Tis true, that men by their well or-

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dering the ſeeds of Plants, may haſten the generation of ſuch Plants, and the ripening of their fruits. They may alſo by putting Eggs into *Camels* dung procure the generation of *Chickens*. Wherefore 'tis probable that Devils being more skilful than men, may ſtrangely promote the generation of ſeveral creatures, beyond any humane Art. But yet neither men nor Devils, in regard they act theſe things by the application of Matter to Matter, can produce any creature out of its ſeed, without a conſiderable ſpace of time. No, they muſt attend the Laws of Matter, and wait upon Dame Natures leiſure; there being many ſucceſſive alterations required in ſeed, before it can come to be the *Embryo* of a creature, and many alſo muſt afterwards follow, before that *Embryo* can arrive to a perfect ſhape. Now many perceiving how difficult it is to af-

firm, that the *Magician's* ſtaffs were turned into Serpents; they affirm that it was not really done, but ſeemingly ſo, by a deluding Jugling trick of the Devil, who might conveigh the ſtaffs away, and ſlip Serpents in their place. To all ſuch as theſe I anſwer, that if they once recede from the letter of the Text, and ſay, it was a Juggle of the Devil, I may as well ſay, it was a Juggle meerly of the *Magicians* themſelves, who did it by their ſly and ſecret tricks, as the Hebrew word בלטיהם ſignifies, which our Tranſlators have rendered, *by their Inchantments*. Nor let any one wonder that the Scripture ſhould ſay, the *Magicians* ſtaffs were turned into *Serpents*, in regard the Scripture ſpeaks only according to the deceived apprehenſion of the ſtanders by. Juſt ſo in the caſe of *Samuel* raiſed by the *Witch* of *Endor*, it ſpeaks according

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to the deceived appehenſions of *Saul* and his followers: For neither that woman, nor all the Devils in Hell could raiſe *Samuel*, who had been dead and buried almoſt two years. As for thoſe who fancy that God did then raiſe *Samuel*; 'tis a very likely thing indeed, that God ſhould refuſe to anſwer *Saul*, when he conſulted him in wayes appointed by himſelf, and yet ſhould anſwer him when he conſulted in a forbidden way. Beſides, if *Samuel* had been raiſed by God, no doubt he would never have ſaid unto *Saul Why haſt thou diſquieted me?* for it would have been no diſquiet nor trouble unto him, to come upon Gods Errand. Some there are who will needs have it to be the Devil in the likeneſs of *Samuel*, becauſe *Sauls* death was foretold. To this I anſwer, that 'twas the woman her ſelf, or a perſon confederated with her, who ſpake it at a venture

ture, knowing that *Saul* was going to fight: But as for the certainty of his death, it could not have been foretold by the Devil himſelf.

The third errour of our Tranſlatours is, their miſtaking a conſulter with Oracles or falſe Prophets, for a conſulter with familiar ſpirits. The Hebrew words are אוב שואל, which word *Ob* ſignifies iu Scripture, ſometimes the gift of *Oracling*, and ſometimes the perſon that hath ſuch a gift. It ſignifies alſo a bottle, or hollow Veſſel, and from this ſignification, I ſuppoſe the other came. For it is certain that *Oraclers*, when they pronounced their *Oracles*, did uſe to counterfeit ſtrange kind of voices, that they might ſeem not to be humane. To this purpoſe 'tis not unlikely, that they made uſe of a bottle, or trunk, or ſome other hollow veſſel, which they ſpake through, whereby their voices muſt needs be very much

much altered, eſpecially if they were in a cave or room under ground, when they made anſwer to enquiries. Theſe kind of cheating tricks are plainly alluded unto by the Prophet *Iſaiah*, in theſe words; *And thy voice ſhall be as of an Oracler out of the earth, and thy ſpeech ſhall peep out of the duſt.* Here I ſuppoſe, the Prophet chiefly alludes unto the *Necromantick Oracler*, or one that pretended to conſult with the dead: Who himſelf or his confederate, did therefore counterfeit a voyce, like the peiping of a Chicken, that it might the more plauſibly ſeem to be the ſmall voyce of a poor departed Ghoſt. This will appear more plainly, if we conſider the nineteenth verſe of the eight Chapter of *Iſaiah*, according to the Tranſlation of *Junius* and *Tremelius*, our own being, hardly ſenſe: The words are theſe, *For when they ſay unto you, ask coun-*

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ſel of Oracles and Southſayers, who peep and mutter; ſhould not a people ask counſel of their God? Should they ask counſel of the dead for the living? Now as the *Oraclers*, when they pretended to receive anſwers from the dead, would piep like *Chickens*; So when they delivered the mind of a God or a Dæmon, they counterfeited other-guiſe tones. In which way of counterfeiting, ſome were ſuch excellent Artiſts that they ſtood in need of no inſtrument to help them; in regard they could ſpeak with their mouths ſhut, and their voice would ſeem to come out of their bellies, as if they had been really poſſeſt with a talking devil: hence they were called *Engaſtrimuthians* by the Greeks, as alſo they were called *Eurycleans*, from one *Eurycles* a famous Impoſtour of this kind. And as *Plutarch* teſtifies, theſe *Engaſtrimuthians* or *Eurycleans*, were antiently called

called *Pythons*: Now πνθῶν and πνεῦμα πνθωνος in Greek doth exactly render the Hebrew *Ob*. Thus if we take *Ob* for an *Oracler*, and the Spirit of Oracling, we may very commodiously with *Junius* and *Tremelius* translate that passage in the *Chronicles*, concerning *Manasses*, where it is said of him, אזכ עשה he made or set up an *Oracle*, that is, he ordained or appointed *Oraclers*. For the word *gnashah* signifies to make or finish. Wherefore because it would be ridiculous to say, that *Manasses* made familiar Spirits. Our Translatours have altered the true signification of *gnashah*, and translate it, though erroneously, as if it signified to deal with, affirming that *Manasses* dealt with familiar Spirits. But whosoever seriously views and considers that place, he shall find it a meer description of Idolatry, where there is mention of high places and groves, and of

Altars,

Altars dedicated not only to *Baal*, but unto the whole hoſt of Heaven, as alſo of the ſetting up a carved Idol in the very houſe of God. Wherefore it was ſuitable to mention alſo that crew of men who were ſet apart by *Manaſſes*, to officiate in this Idolatrous worſhip; Such as were various ſorts of *Oraclers*, and *Miracle-mongers*. But how *Witches* ſhould come in here, I cannot tell, no nor how Devils neither, unleſs you believe that Devils made anſwer at the Heathen Oracles. Which if you do, for my part I muſt crave leave to diſſent, judgeing them to be nothing but the impoſtures of men. And as *Demoſthenes* did wiſely obſerve in his dayes, that the *Delphian Oracle* did φιλιππίζειν, ſo I am confident if Hiſtory be true, that the *Hammonean* did Ἀλεξανδρίζειν, and that all the reſt of the cheating pack did one way or other Ἀνθρωπίζειν.

CHAP.

Chap. I. *Conſidered.*

THe firſt thing which I find fault with in our Tranſlatours of the Bible, is, their calling a Conjecturer an Inchanter. A miſtake ſo evident, as not to be denied. And herein I took occaſion, to hint the folly of thoſe, who derive the Hebrew word חכר which ſignifies a Charm from חכר as it ſignifies to joyn to or be in league with, and not from the ſame word as it ſignifies to ſpeak, pronounce or declare. So much it ſeems the prejudice of a præ-conceived opinion about making leagues with the Devil doth ſway them, that they do not conſider. The Hebrew words have oftentimes ſeveral ſignifications, which have no dependance on one another, and that it is moſt likely, a Charmer

Charmer ſhould be derived from ſpeech or ſpeaking in the Hebrew, as well as in other Languages. Thus in Greek Ἀοιδὸς is derived from Ἀείδω *Cano*, and from this Latine word *Cano* comes *Incanto*, and *Carmen*, from whence comes our Engliſh word Charm. As for the old *Saxon* word Spell, it ſignifies nothing but Speech. Thus Goſpel ſignifies either good ſpeech, or Gods ſpeech, take which way you will.

The ſecond fault I find is, the Tranſlating a *Miracle-monger* a *Witch*: The Hebrew word is מכשף, which I therefore render by the word *Miracle-monger*, becauſe I would compriſe it's various ſignifications; for it doth not only ſignifie a *Jugler*, or one that deludes the eyes of the ſpectators, which is it proper ſignification as the *Lexicographers* do aſſert; but it ſignifies an *Inchanter* alſo, as appears in the fifty ſeventh *Pſalm*. It ſignifies

fies alſo, one that purifies and luſtrates either Perſon, or City, or Country, from any pollution or guilt, and from the moleſtations of evil ſpirits. Now the queſtion is, whether theſe impoſtures were meerly humane, or performed by the help of the Devil. Some to concern the Devil in the buiſineſſe, urge the conſent of Tranſlators, who render the Hebrew מכשף by the Latine *maleficus*. To theſe I anſwer, that by *Maleficus* the *Romans* did not always underſtand, one that dealt with the Devil, as I ſhall have occaſion to ſhew hereafter. But if the Tranſlators meant ſo, they were byaſſed with the prejudice of a preconceived opinion; For what need the Devil be brought in, for the performance of things which were not real, but meer cozening cheats? As appears by *Pharaohs* Magicians, who by their ſecret and ſly tricks (the vulgar Latine ſaith *per arcana*)

did counterfeit ſuch actions, as the Devil himſelf could not really perform, unleſſe we make him a Creator. It being a creation to make a Serpent out of a ſtick, as well as to make *Eve* out of *Adams* rib, or *Adam* out of the duſt of the earth. But though the Magicians jugled with Serpents, with bloud, and with frogs; yet they could not do ſo with thoſe little creatures, which in our Tranſlation are called Lice, but moſt probably were ſome other creatures, which could not be procured: for the true ſignification of the Hebrew word, is as yet unknown In like manner the raiſing of *Samuel* was a notorious cheat, as moſt Proteſtant Divines I ſuppoſe do agree. Now if *Samuel* did not foretell *Sauls* death, the Devil could not foreſee ſo great a contingency. 'Twas a meer contingent, that there ſhould be a Battel. 'Twas far more contingent, that *Saul* ſhould eſcape alive from the

the Battle, and afterwards be killed at his own requeſt. None but an omniſcient God could know this; *Iſaiah* 41. and 23. *Shew the things that are to come hereafter, that we may know that ye are Gods.*

Now further to make it appear, that *Miracle-mongers*, as I call them, were not *Witches* in our modern ſenſe; I ſhall urge, that he who ſeriouſly conſiders the Bible, will find, that thoſe Impoſtures which our Tranſlators call *Witchcraft*, ſignifie nothing but thoſe arts or tricks, which were uſed to ſeduce the people to Idolatry, and to confirm them in it. Thus you ſhall often meet in the Bible with Fornication and *Witchcraft* joyned together. By Fornication and Whoredome is meant Idolatry, and by *Witchcraft*, the art of engaging men in it. The Whoredome of *Jeſabel* was her Idolatry, and her *Witchcraft* was the maintaining of *Baals* Prieſts. The

arts of engaging men in Idolatrous ways, were chiefly Divination and counterfeit Miracles. Divination was performed many ways, but the two moſt famous were by Dream or Viſion, and by looking into the entrals of ſacrificed beaſts. Nevertheleſſe though Divination and *Miracle-monging* be chiefly meant by the notion of *Witchcraft* in Scripture; yet in many places, we muſt alſo underſtand thereby, the terrour of Arms, the allurement of Honours, and Riches; in a word, all the Machinations and various Methods, uſed by imperial Cities and renowned Princes, to captivate the Nations round about them. *Iſaiah* the Prophet in the 47*th.* Chapter and the 12 Verſe, tells *Babylon* of the multitude of her Sorceries, and in the next Verſe expounds it by the multitude of her Counſels. *Stand now with thine Inchantments, and with the multitude of thy Sorceries, wherein thou*

thou haſt laboured from thy youth. If ſo be thou maiſt be able to profit, if ſo be thou maiſt prevail.

Thou art wearied in the multitude of thy counſels: Let now the Aſtrologers, the Star-gazers, the monthly Prognoſticators ſtand up, and ſave thee from theſe things, that ſhall come upon thee.

In like manner the Prophet *Nahum*, as *Calvin* expounds him, *Chap. 3. v. 4.* doth mean by the Witchcraft of *Nineveh*, all the Plots and Arts which a great City uſeth to ſubdue her Neighbours. *Becauſe of the multitude of the Whoredomes of the welfavoured harlot, the Miſtreſs of Witchcrafts, that ſelleth Nations through her whoredomes, and families through her Witchcrafts.* And as *Calvin* expounds, concerning *Nineveh*, ſo doth *Cornelius a Lapide* expound the Sorceries of Heathen *Rome*, by which he underſtands the riches, honours and great rewards, whereby that antient and renowned City, did

draw the Nations after her. As you may ſee in his Comment on the 18. Chapter of the *Revelations*, and the 23. verſe.

Moreover the Greek Tranſlation of the Septuagint, rendring the Hebrew word, which I call *Miracle-monger*, by the Greek word φάρμακος makes much to my purpoſe. For φάρμακος doth elegantly ſignifie, an Impoſtour or deceiver; which ſignification is taken from the Colours, that Painters were wont to make uſe of, called in Greek φάρμακα. Beſides it is very conſiderable to obſerve, that φάρμακος and γοης have the ſame ſignification of Impoſture. St. *Chriſoſtome* doth oppoſe them as Mountebanks or Cheats, unto ἰατρος a lawfull Phyſitian. *Suidas* interprets γόης by κόλαξ and ἀπατεών *Heſychius* φαρμάξασα, by ἀπατήσασα φαρμάττομενος by κολακεύομενος. And *Plato* in his

Συμπόσιον

Συμποσιον brings in *Socrates* disputing and maintaining, that Love was a great Dæmon, where amongst other Characters of this Dæmon, he describes him to be δεινος γοης καὶ φαρμακευς καὶ σοφιστης. In English thus, a notable cheating cozening Sophister. For I suppose that *Socrates* did not mean that he was a *Witch*, he being a great Dæmon himself, according to the supposition of *Socrates*. But now to come closer home, 'tis probable that the particular imposture, which is chiefly denoted by the word φαρμακος, is that heathenish expiation or lustration of any person, Town or Country, whereby the Priests pretended to deliver them from hainous guilt or pollution, and from infesting evil spirits. These *Lustratores orbium* were called φαρμακοι by the *Athenians*, and the whole way of purifying I suppose was called γοητεια I mean that way which concerned the chasing

chaſing away of evill ſpirits. But as for that way of ſacred purificati-ons, whereby the good Dæmons were conciliated, and their conver-ſation procured, it was called Θεύργια. I confeſſe Saint *Auguſtine* makes this difference between *Theurgia* and *Goelia*, according to the opini-on of the heathen Philoſophers in his time; that *Theurgia* was ſacred and laudable, but *Goelia* wicked and miſchievous. This you may read in his Tenth Book, *De Civitate Dei*, Chapter the Ninth. Whereat I cannot ſufficiently wonder, for if it had been ſo in *Plato*'s dayes, ſurely he would never have made *Goelia* to be one main part or imployment of the Prieſtly Office, as I ſhall have occaſion to ſhew, when I come to conſider the ſixth Chapter. For my own part I ſuppoſe, that *Goelia* was no more wicked than *Theurgia*, but becauſe it was imployed about evill ſpirits, in proceſſe of time it came

to

to be taken in an evill ſenſe, as if it had been an art of confederating with, or driving away thoſe infeſting Dæmons. Theſe ſignifications of γόης and φάρμακος, induce me to believe, that the two Hebrew words derived from בשׁף, onewhereof our Tranſlators render *Witch*, and the other *Witchcraft*, may be thus expounded. By *Witchcraft* in Scripture is meant, any deceitfull Art or impoſture, to confirm men in idolatry, or to ſeduce them to it. By *Witch* for the moſt part chiefly is meant, that kind of Prieſt, whoſe calling or imployment it was to practiſe the Impoſture of Luſtration.

The third fault, which I find in our Tranſlation is, their miſtaking a Conſulter with Oracles, or falſe Prophets, for a Conſulter with Familiar Spirits. And this I prove to be a fault, by that paſſage in the *Chronicles*, concerning

cerning *Manaſſes*, where it is ſaid, *That he made Pythons or Prophets.* For if the Hebrew word אוב, ſignifies a Familiar Spirit, according to our Tranſlation, then *Manaſſes* muſt be ſaid to have made Spirits; for ſo the Hebrew word עשה imports, and not to deal with them, as our Tranſlators have it. For my part I do not believe, that the Devil can make any the leaſt living creature, much leſſe that a man as *Manaſſes* was, though a King, could make a Devil. The truth is, theſe familiar Spirits were no other than *Pythons*, and *Pythons* were no other than Heathen Prophets. For the Heathens did uſually call thoſe amongſt them, who pretented unto the gift of Propheſie, by the name of *Pythons*; which is as much as to ſay, men that had the ſpirit of *Apollo*. The reaſon of which name was, becauſe they took *Apollo* to be the God of Divination, as may be gathered

thered from the words of *Socrates*, *Plato's Phedrus*, where he diſtinguiſheth between two ſorts of madneſs, one ariſing from humane diſeaſes, the other proceeding from the divine hand, altering one from his wonted diſpoſition. This divine madneſs he again devides into four parts; Whereof one concerns love matters belonging to *Venus* and *Cupid*. Another Poetry, and this belongs to the Muſes. A third part is of ſacred myſteries, which *Bacchus* challengeth unto himſelf. And the fourth of Divinations, is under the Government of *Apollo*. Now *Apollo* being called *Pythius* ἀπὸ τῆ πύθεσθαι according to *Strabo*; It was very proper to call thoſe men and women, who never thought to have the divining ſpirit of *Apollo*, *Pythons* and *Pythoniſſes*, as being derived from that name which was given unto him, upon the account of Divination. Hence it is, that St. *Luke*

ſpeaking

ſpeaking of a Wench, who pretended to propheſie, ſaith ſhe had πνεῦμα πύθωνος Wherein he accommodates himſelf to the vulgar mode of ſpeech, uſed in his age. Not as if ſhe had really the ſpirit of *Apollo*, who was but a fictitious deity, and conſequently had no ſpirit of his own, wherewith to poſſeſſe the hearts of men. So that when Saint *Luke* ſaith, this ſpirit came out of the Damſel, he means, ſhe forſook her cozening impoſture, and returned to an honeſt diſpoſition. Juſt as when the evil ſpirit left *Saul*, at the playing of *David* on his Harp; we are to underſtand thereby, that *Saul* returned to a cheerful diſpoſition, and left off his melancholick dumps. Nor let any one think, that though *Apollo* was but a fictitious deity, there were reall devils acted his oracular part. I ſuppoſe *Lyſander* the *Lacedæmonean* thought he had to do with humane creatures, when he

he attempted to bribe, firſt the Prieſteſſe at *Delphos*, then her at *Dodona*, afterwards the Prieſts of *Jupiter Hammon*. Indeed *Lyſander* was but a ſubject, and though he came with a purſe in one hand, he did not come with a ſword in the other; Otherwiſe he might have ſped as well, as afterwards *Philip* of *Macedon* did with the *Delphian Apollo*, and his ſon *Alexander* the Great, with *Jupiter Hammon*. As for the obſervation, concerning the decay of Oracles at the coming of Chriſt, 'tis but a meer fancy. Nor do I at all value, any oracle or ſentence that may be brought to that purpoſe, being well aſſured that they were but the forgeries of primitive Chriſtians, whoſe blind intemperate zeal, did tempt them to forge not only ſentences but whole Authours, as any that hath not read Hiſtories himſelf, may find in *Cauſabons* Exercitations on *Baronius*, *Blon-*

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del on the Sybils, as alſo the decree of Pope *Gelaſius*, who amongſt other counterfeit Authors doth prohibit counterfeit Prophets, counterfeit Goſpels, and counterfeit acts of the Apoſtles. Beſides I would fain know what ſome men mean by the ceaſing of Oracles at the coming of Chriſt. If they mean, that Oracles were then quite ſilent, 'tis falſe. For *Plutarch* teſtifies that in his time, which was after Chriſt, the Oracle at *Delphos* in *Phocis*, as alſo that at *Lebadia*, a Town in *Bæotia*, did ſtill give anſwers. Again if they mean only that Oracles were much out of requeſt at the coming of Chriſt. I anſwer ſo they were long before his coming, witneſſe a very good Author, *Marcus Tullius Cicero*, who died ſome years before Chriſt was born. Yet it appears by his ſecond Book of Divination, that Oracles were ſo much gone to decay long before his time; that in his

his dayes there was nothing more contemptible. *Cicero's* words are theſe, *ſed quod caput eſt, cur iſto modo jam oracula* Delphis *non edantur, non modo noſtra ætate, ſed jam diu, adeo ut nihil poſſet eſſe contemptius?*

Thus I ſuppoſe, I have made good my objections againſt our Engliſh Tranſlators, who without queſtion in this particular matter, were ſwayed by the preiudice of a preæ-conceived opinion of *Witches* & *Witchcraft*. As alſo they apparently were in Tranſlating the Engliſh Chapter of the Acts of the Apoſtles; where they ſay one *Simon* uſed ſorcery, and bewitched the people of *Samaria*, whereas in the Greek there is no ſuch thing; he only made the people of *Samaria* to wonder at his works. But when *Philip* the Deacon came thither, he made *Simon* himſelf to wonder at his works. I don't ſay he did bewitch him. yet

if

if our Tranſlators had been conſtant to their own interpretation, the words being of the ſame ſignification in the original, they muſt as well have made *Simon* bewitched by *Philip*, as the *Samaritans* by *Simon*.

CHAP. II.

That the Opinion of Witches *hath had its foundation in Heathen Fables.*

THus I have made it appear, how falſe Prophets and workers of counterfeit-*Miracles*, have been miſtaken by our Tranſlatours of the Bible for *Witches* and dealers with familiar Spirits; A miſtake ſo groſs, that it obſcures many things in the Law of *Moſes*, as alſo in the Prophets,

phets, where there are ſeveral pla-
ces directly intended againſt the
Heathen religion, eſpecially that of
the *Egyptians*. Now ſuch was the
vain credulity of men, that they did
not only believe theſe things were
real which the Prieſts did counter-
feit, but they alſo aſcribed unto pri-
vate perſons a power equal unto
that of the Prieſts, or rather beyond
it. For not only men, but women
alſo, eſpecially old women have
been famous for Propheſying of
things to come, whence they were
called *Sagæ*, as alſo for wonderful
and miraculous exploits, whence
they were called *Lamiæ* or *Veneſi-
cæ*. They were called *Lamiæ* chief-
ly from their exploits upon little
Children. For it ſeems according
to the Fable, there was one *Lamia*
a beautiful woman in *Lybia*, whom
Jupiter fell in love with, but jealous
Juno took her children which ſhe
had by *Jupiter* and killed them,

fore ſhe out of meer ſpite being grieved at the killing of her own children, did uſe to kill the children of other women. They were called *Veneficæ*, becauſe they were wont to make uſe of herbs, which they ſuppoſed had ſtrange kind of vertues in them; for with herbs or Charms they alwayes acted.

(bis,

Num te carminibus, num te pallentibus herbis
Devovit tacito tempore noctis anus?

Strange it is to conſider, how far the folly of men hath proceeded in their belief, concerning the actions both of male and female *Witches*: As if forſooth they could transform men and women into beaſts, as if they could deſtroy the fruits of the earth, and the fruit of the womb, at their pleaſure, as if they could raiſe winds and tempeſts, or allay them, enable or diſ-enable in matters venerial, In a word, as if they could enſlave nature

ture her ſelf, and make the Univerſe obey their commands. Examples of this prodigious power, are ſcattered up and down the *Roman* Poets, I ſhall quote ſome few of them out of *Virgil*, *Horace*, *Ovid*, *Tibullus*, *Propertius*, *Lucan*.

Has herbas, atq; hæc ponto mihi lecta venena, Virg. Ecl. 8.
Ipſe dedit Mæris, naſcuntur plurima ponto.
His ego ſæpe lupum fieri & ſe condere ſylvis
Mærim, ſæpe animas imis excire ſepulchris,
Atq; ſatas alio vidi traducere meſſes.

Quos hominum ex facie, Dea ſæva potentibus (herbis Virg. lib. 6. Æneid.
Indurat Circe, in vultus ac terga ferarum.

Neſcio quis teneros oculus mihi faſcinat (agnos

Quæ movere cereas imagines, Horat. ode ult.
Ut ipſe noſti curioſus; & polo
Deripere lunam vocibus poſſum meis,
Poſſum crematos excitare mortuos,
Deſideriq; temperare poculum.

Ovid Epiſ. Hypſip.

Illa reluctantem curſu deducere lunam
Nititur & tenebris abdere ſolis equos.
Illa refrænat aquas, obliquaq; fulmina ſiſtit,
Illa loco Sylvas vivaq; ſaxſa movet:
Per tumulos errat, ſparſis diſtincta capillis,
Certaq; de tepidis colligit oſſa rogis:
Devovet abſentes, ſimulachraq; cerea figit,
Et miſerûm tenues in jecur urget acus.

Ovid. lib. 7. Metamor.

——— Concuſſaq; ſiſto,
Stantia concutio cantu freta, nubila pello,
Nubilaq; induco, ventos abigoq; vocoq;

Ovid 3. Amor Eleg. 6.

Num mea Theſſalico languent devota veneno
Corpora num miſero carmen & herba nocent
Sagave punicea defixit nomina cerâ
Et medium tenues in jecur urget acus
Carmine læſa ceres ſterilem vaneſcit in herbam
Deficiunt læſi Carmine fontis aquæ;
Ilicibus glandes cantataq; vitibus uva,
Decidit & nullo poma movente fluunt;
Quid vetat & nervos magicas torpere per artes,
Forſitan impatiens fit latus inde meum:

Tibul. lib. 1. Eleg. 2.

Cum libet hæc triſti depellit nubila cœlo,
Cum libet æſtivo provocat orbe nives,

Quid

Quid credam? Hæc eadem noſtros ſe dixit (amores,
Cantibus aut herbis ſolvere poſſe meos Tibul. lib. 1, Eleg. 8.

Invidiæ fuimus? num nos Deus obruit? an (quæ
Lecta Promethæis dividit herba jugis? Propert: lib. 1. Eleg 12.

Ceſſavere vires rerum, dilataq; longa,
Hæſit nocte dies, legi non paruit Æther;
Torpuit & præceps audito carmine mundus,
Axibus & rapidis impulſos Jupiter *urgens*
Miratur non ire polos; Tunc omnia complent
Imbribus, & calido producunt nubila Phœbo
Et tonat ignaro Cœlum Jove. Lucan. lib. 6.

Theſe, and many more inſtances of the like kind might be produced out of the Heathen Poets, ſufficient to teſtifie the folly of the vulgar Heathens, in their belief concerning the Power of *Witches*. As for the Opinions concerning *Incubi* and *Succubi* Devils, I ſuppoſe it had its riſe from the Fable of the antient *Heroes*, who (as *Socrates* in *Plato*'s *Cratylus* doth affirm) were begotten from the

Coniunction of Deities with Humane Creatures; which kind of Conjunction, whoſoever believes, his Opinion is baſe and ſottiſh, and fit only to be a cloak for the Adulteries of the Heathen Prieſts, who often did lye with other mens Wives, pretending that the Gods had vouchſafed them the Honour of their Company. Very remarkable to this purpoſe, is the ſtory of *Tyrannus* a Prieſt of *Saturn*, who under this pretence made uſe of many a mans Wife, till at laſt, one more wiſe than the reſt diſcovered the cheat. In like manner *Mundus* a Gentleman of *Rome*, by the help of the Prieſts belonging to the Temple of *Iſis*, enjoyed his pleaſure on *Paulina* a *Roman* Lady, who miſtook him for the God *Anubis*.

Nevertheleſs, let no one think, that the ingenious Poets did themſelves, or any other of the wiſer ſort of Heathens, believe ſuch ridiculous and

and abſurd fopperies; for on the contrary, when they ſpeak their own minds, and not according to the Fable or Vulgar opinion, they laugh theſe abſurdities to ſcorn: Thus *Propertius* derides them.

At vos deductæ quibus eſt fallacia lunæ,
Et labor in magicis ſacra piare focis;
Enagedum dominæ mentem convertite noſtræ
Et facite illa meo palleat ore magis:

propert. lib. 1. Eleg.

Tunc ego crediderim vobis, & ſydera & am-
Poſſe Cytæmis ducere carminibus (*nes*

Ovid alſo it of the ſame mind, and gives no credit to theſe Cheats.

Nec vos graminibus nec miſto credite ſucco,
Nec tentate nocens virus amantis equæ:
Nec mediæ marſis finduntur cantibus angues
Nec redit in fontes unda ſupina ſuos:
Et quamvis aliquis Temeſæa removerit æra
Nunquam Luna ſuis excutietur equis.

Ovid de mediam facrei

Ovid lib. 2. de Arte Amandi:

Fallitur æmonias si quis decurrit ad artes,
Datq; quod a teneri fronte revellit equi:
Non facient ut vivat amor Medeides herbæ,
Mixtaq; cum magicis mersa venena sonis.

Ovid lib. de Remed. Amor.

Quid te Phasiacæ juverunt gramina terræ,
Cum cuperes patria Colchi manere domo?
Quid tibi profuerint Circe Perseides herbæ,
Cum tibi Neritias abstulit aura rates?

Ibid.

Ergo quisquis opem nostra tibi poscis ab arte,
Deme veneficiis carminibusq; fidem.

But *Horace* excellently, and like himself, lays it down as a mark or sign of ones proficiency in moral Philosophy, if he had learnt to despise and laugh at these kind of Fables.

Hor. Epist. ult.

Somnia, terrores magicos, miracula, sagas,
Nocturnos lemures portentaq; Thessala rides?

In like manner *Seneca* reproving the credulous simplicity of elder times, shews what Opinion he himself was of: His words are these, *Et apud*

apud nos in lege duodecim Tabularum cavetur, ne quis alienas fruges excantaſſit; Rudis adhuc antiquitas credebat, & attrahi imbres cantibus & repelli, quorum nihil poſſe fieri tam palam eſt, ut ejus rei cauſa nullius Philoſophi Schola intranda ſit. In a word, I might here inſtance in other of the Antients, as in *Hypocrates* and *Lucian*, the one deriding the other, ſeriouſly diſputing againſt Magick cheats: But I ſhall conclude with the judgement of *Nero* the Emperour, who had wit enough, who had Men, Books, Money, I had almoſt ſaid, the World at his command, ſo that he could want no helps for the promoting his deſires. This *Nero* ambitious of being Chief in every thing, eſpecially deſiring to Command the Gods as well as men, did in order thereunto eagerly apply himſelf to the ſtudy of Magick, which after his utmoſt endeavours, he forſook and deſpiſed, finding it

Sen. lib. 4. Nat. Quæſt.

to

to be vain, and to promiſe that which it cannot perform.

Chap. II. *Conſidered.*

THe notion of a *Witch*, as it is taken now adayes being not to be found in Scripture; I thought it worth the while to diſcover, where it might be found in ancient times. For which purpoſe, I could not inſiſt on a more illuſtrious way, than by producing the Teſtimonies of ancient Poets, who uſually allude unto the vulgar opinion of their preſent ages, not caring whether they be true or falſe, provided they ſerve for the adorning of their Poems. Wherefore I cannot chuſe but laugh at the weakneſs of that objection which hath been often made againſt me. Why I ſhould quote fabulous Poets. But I pray where-

in

n are they fabulous, not in that which I have quoted them for, namely to ſhew that the people of thoſe times did commonly believe *Witches* could do ſuch and ſuch wonderfull things. Indeed, that thoſe who were reputed *Witches* could do ſo is a meer fable, but that the people believed they could, is a reall truth. Now this fooliſh belief hath been tranſmitted from Father to Son through all ages, down unto our preſent time, and is deep rooted in the hearts of the Vulgar. For it is remarkable, that the ſelf ſame thing which the antient Poets affirm, concerning *Witches*, the women of our time do tell to children. If *Mæris*, *Medea*, *Canidia*, *Circe*, and others of old, could transform themſelves and raiſe the dead; 'tis no more than what we are told almoſt as ſoon as we are born that men & women can do now But ſome will object and ſay, they do not believe that *Witches* can do

ſuch

ſuch things as theſe: and I ſhall a
often tell them, I don't care for
Witch of their making. Yet theſe
men forſooth, in their metaphyſica
definitions, will allow a *Witch* to b
able to raiſe winds and ſhowre dow
rain, and to blaſt the fruits of th
earth. Indeed it were rational t
believe that *Witches* or Devils fo
them, could blaſt the fruits of th
earth, and blite the Corn, if ſo b
they could alter the weather. Bu
on the contrary the wind blowet
where it liſteth, and hath it's natura
courſe, if we may believe *Solomo*
the King and Preacher. Nor ca
all the vanities of the Gentile
(whether Idol or Devil) cauſe th
Heavens to rain, if we may believ
the Prophet *Jeremiah*. His word
do thus elegantly expoſtulate
Are there any among the vanities o
the Gentiles that can cauſe rain? O
can the Heavens give ſhowres? Ar
no

not thou he O Lord our God? There-
fore we will wait upon thee, for thou
haſt made all theſe things. 'Tis true
indeed, *Thomas Aquinas* in his Com-
ment on *Job*, doth diſtinguiſh at this
place of *Jeremiah*, and ſaith that
the Devil cannot cauſe rain in a na-
tural courſe, but he can in an artifi-
cial way. By which diſtinction, he
doth quite evacuate the force of
the Prophets expoſtulation. But what
will not men of diſtinctions do, if
you allow them their full ſwinge of
diſtinguiſhing, they'l make any
thing ſignifie any thing. Never-
theleſſe, though we let *Thomas A-*
quinas and his diſtinction paſs, the
aſſertors of *Witchcraft* muſt not
ſcape ſo. For I would fain know
by what art the Devil can raiſe a
tempeſt, as ſoon as ever ſuch or ſuch
a perſon ſhall enter into a Ship. Or
how comes it to paſs, that when an
old woman on the top of a tree,
ſhall mumble a few words, imme-
diately

diately the winds muſt riſe. Surely this inſtantaneous motion, is beyond the power of a Devil to produce, nor doth nature obey him ſo far. If you obiect, who amongſt men is able to tell what a ſpirit can do? I anſwer; 'tis hard indeed to tell what a Spirit can do, but 'tis eaſie to tell what a Spirit created can not do. I confeſſe indeed, the Devill is called the Prince of the air, not as if he could command that Element, but rather the ſpirits which inhabit there. As for the Hiſtory of *Job*, the Devils power can not be argued from thence. The Author of that Book, having been pleaſed to handle his ſubject after the manner of Poets, who deliver many things, partly for delight, and parltly for explication. But before I leave this conſideration, I ſhall put the Reader in mind to conſider, that the Poets themſelves laughing at the pretended

power

power of *Witches*, which they ſo much magnifie in their Poems, did look upon it as a meer fable, fit only to adorn their writings by way of alluſion. And that not the Poets only, but the wiſeſt of men in all ages, have laught at this Fable. *Pliny* in his natural Hiſtory doth confeſs, that 'twas of old a famous and much celebrated queſtion, whether words and charms did avail or no? The Affirmative he makes to be the common opinion, but the Negative the wiſer; His words are theſe; *Sed viritim Sapientiſſimi cujusq; reſpuit fides.*

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

That it hath been proved by the Papal Inquiſitors, ſeeking their own qrivate gain, as alſo to eſtabliſh the uſurped Dominion of their Founder.

NOw one would think, that theſe kind of Heatheniſh Fables and Follies, although they took root in the minds of the Chriſtian vulgar, ſhould never have been aſſented unto by thoſe who account themſelves Rabbies and Doctors of the people; yet I'le aſſure ye, there is hardly any thing which I have quoted out of the Poets, that hath not been declared true, by the Inquiſition and by the Canon Law: As a-

ny

ny one may ſee, who will take the pains to conſult ſeveral Popiſh writings; ſuch as the Bull of Pope *Innocent* the Eighth, directed to the Inquiſitors of *Almaine*, the *Malleus Maleficarum* of *Jacobus Sprengerus*, the *Formicarium* of *Johannes Niderus*, as alſo *Bartholomæus Spineus de ſtrigibus*, *Paulus Grillandus de Sortilegiis*, and (to mention no more) *Martin Delrio* the Jeſuit's *Diſquiſitiones Magicæ*, who hath written largely upon this ſubject.

Nor have they been content to aſſert the Fables of the Heathens only without the addition of many more of their own; for they confidently aſſert, that Witches make a Contract with the Devil, wherein they renounce their Baptiſm, and Chriſtian Faith; as alſo they engage to ſlight and to deſpiſe the Virgin *Mary*, to trample upon the ſign of the Croſs, Images and Reliques of Saints, Holy water, Salt, Wax-Candles,

dles, and other things Hallowed by the Church; to undervalue the ſeven Sacraments, and particularly not to Adore the Conſecrated Hoſt. They alſo engage to be ready at all times to make their appearance at the ſolemn Conventicles of Witches, where they dance and feaſt, and adore the Devil who is preſent amongſt them. Which mad kind of revelling, without doubt, as *Cardan* hath well obſerved, is grounded upon the ancient Heathen *Orgia*. To theſe Conventicles, the Witches are ſaid to come from far diſtant Countries, being carried through the Air, for which ſtrange paſſage, they prepare their bodies with I know not what kind of oyntment; but I ſuppoſe it is made of the ſame ingredients, as that was, which turned *Lucian* into an Aſs. Nor muſt ye doubt the Truth of theſe things, which the Holy Inquiſition hath in ſeveral Countries at ſeveral Tryals of Witches

Witches found to be true, as well from the teſtimony of Witneſſes, as alſo from the ſelf Confeſſion of Delinquents.

But becauſe the Inquiſitors of Heretical Pravity (for ſo they are ſtyled) have been pleaſed to vent theſe things into the world; It may not be amiſs, nor beſides our preſent purpoſe, to enquire into the Inquiſitors themſelves. The firſt time that I can hear News of them in Hiſtory, is in the dayes of *Maximus*, who contended with *Theodoſius* for the Empire: Though I confeſs an Inquiſition was then but intended, not brought to effect. This *Maximus* was the firſt who put Hereticks to death, namely *Priſcilian* and his Partners; by the perſwaſion of one *Ithacius*, and if it had not been for St. *Martin*, he would have ſent Tribunes into *Spain*, with power to enquire or ſearch for Hereticks, and to take away their lives and goods. In pro-

ceſs of time, *Charlemain*, who was Crowned Emperour in the Eight hundredth year after Chriſt, did by his Laws or Capitulars, declare the Biſhop of *Rome* to be Head of the Church. Theſe Laws were therefore called Capitulars, becauſe they were little Heads or Chapters extracted out of the Ancient Fathers and Councils: Nevertheleſs all thoſe Capitulars which concerned the *Roman* Supremacy, were extracted out of counterfeit Authors, that cheat being put upon him by the Biſhops of *Mentz*. About three hundred years afterwards, in the year One thouſand one hundred twenty two, the Emperour *Henry* the fifth, was forced to reſign his Power of Electing and Inveſting Biſhops with the Staff and Ring into the hands of the Church; of which the *Roman* Biſhop, being the publickly acknowledged and declared Head, did by this means obtain a greater Empire

and

and power, then ever the Roman *Cæſars* had. This being perceived by the *Germane* Emperours, there was almoſt perpetual contention and war between them and the Biſhops of *Rome*: But eſpecially *Frederick* the ſecond, who flouriſht in the beginning of the thirteenth Century, ſpent moſt of his Reign, and his utmoſt Endeavours, to take down the Church from overtopping the Empire. Nevertheleſs it was in his Reign, that the *Roman* Biſhops did notably provide, for the ſecurity of their exorbitant power; Then it was, that *Frederick* the Second, when he was at *Padua*, made thoſe unhappy Laws, whereby Hereticks were lyable to the puniſhment of death, of which Laws the Popes made very great advantage. Then it was that *Gregory* the ninth advanced the Authority of Canon or Pontifical Laws, by compoſing the Decretals with the

help of his Chaplain *Raymund*. Laſtly, then it was, that the Orders of *Dominican* and *Franciſcan* Fryers were founded, to whom was committed the Inquiſition after Hereticks.

Now theſe *Monks* at their firſt ſetting up for Inquiſitors, as Father *Paul* hath obſerved, in his Hiſtory of the Inquiſition, had no Tribunal or Court of their own, but did only preach, and ſtir up Princes and People, engaging them into *Cruſadoes* againſt Hereticks, by ſewing a piece of red cloth in the form of a Croſs upon their Garments: But *Innocent* the fourth, who began his Pontificate about the latter end of *Frederick* the ſecond, obſerving the notable zeal of theſe Fryars, thought good to erect a Tribunal for them, that ſo they themſelves might proceed to the Tryal of Hereticks. To bring this about, he had a fair opportunity upon the death of *Frede-*

rick

rick, by reaſon of the vacancy that then happened in the Empire many years. For now having no Emperour to controul him in *Italy*, he took the confidence to impoſe the Inquiſition upon three ſeveral Provinces, (*viz.*) *Lombardia*, *Romaniela* and *Marchia Terverſina*. There are extant ſeveral Bulls, written by *Innocent* the fourth unto the Magiſtrates of thoſe Countries: One where he ſets down the forementioned Laws of *Frederick* againſt Hereticks word for word, and commands them to be ſtrictly obſerved: Nor can I blame him, for holding his Eccleſiaſtical Empire upon no other Title then the pretence of Religion; to be a Heretick muſt needs be the ſame thing to him, and his Succeſſours, as to be a Traytor is to Temporal Princes. There is another Bull of his, wherein he enjoynes the Magiſtrates of the aforeſaid Countries, to obſerve ſeveral Arti-

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cles or Conſtitutions relating to the Inquiſition; In which Articles, amongſt other things, he ordains, that the Inquiſitors ſhall have their Charges defrayed out of the goods of perſons condemned; and this way of ſatisfying the Inquiſitors, he ordains in another peculiar Bull for that purpoſe. Hence it came to paſs, that when the Inquiſition had gotten foot in many Kingdomes and Countries, an incredible number of people were frequently tormented and burnt for the Crime of Witchcraft; which they had ſo entwiſted with Hereſie, or the denyal of Pontifical Authority, that in ſeeking out Witches, in tormenting and putting them to death, they did at once gratifie, as well the ambition and uſurped Power of their Lord the Pope, as their own inſatiable covetouſneſs, and thirſt after other mens goods. In the year One thouſand five hundred and eighteen, the Inquiſitors

put to death a great many Inchanters, which they had found out forſooth in the *Venetian* Territories: where ſuch was the Extortion and Covetouſneſs in their proceedings, that the Country roſe up againſt them, and the Council after at *Venice* was fain to ſend for theſe Inquiſitors to enquire into their proceedings; yet do what they could, the enraged people were hardly to be appeaſed. In the ſame year, I ſuppoſe it was, that upon the like occaſion of the Countries Riſing againſt an Inquiſitor, and carrying him to the Biſhop, *Alciat* a famous Civil-Lawyer gave his ingenious anſwer to the Biſhop, who askt his advice herein, as may be ſeen in *Alciats Parerga*, where he handſomly deſcribes the vain and monſtrous credulity of ſome Divines in this queſtion of Witchcraft. *Nicolaus Remingius* a *Lorrain* Judge, doth confeſs, that in the time of his Judicature, in the

ſpace

ſpace of ſixteen years, there was about eight hundred Witches put to death, beſides as many more that eſcaped, either by timely running away, or by a conſtant enduring of torture. In a word, after the founding of the *Dominican* and *Franciſcan* Fryars, and the ſetting up an Office of Inquiſition, the world grew ſo full of Devils and Witches, that I am prone to aſſent unto the judgement of *Cardan*, who handling this buſineſs of Witches and Witchfinders, obſerved it to be full of Covetouſneſs and folly, as any one may read in his Book, *De Varietate Rerum.*

CHAP.

Chap. III. *Conſidered.*

HOW groſsly the opinion of Witchcraft, hath been made to ſerve the corrupt ends and intereſts of men, appears from nothing more, than from the ſtrange examinations of Inquiſitors. So ſtrange that 'tis to me a wonder, if the Inquiſitors can hold their countenances, and forbear from laughing at one another. This I am ſure of, that (as *Epiſcopus* hath well obſerved) the confeſſions which they have extorted from ſome, do ſavour of the Pontificial rack, and ſeem to have been dictated unto theſe miſerable wretches, by the very Inquiſitors themſelves; with a deſign to advance the reputation of the Virgin *Mary*, and the Sacraments of their own Church. Nay, ſo far did they proceed in this matter, that *Hereſie* was

was a ſign of *Witchcraft*; Inſomuch that any one who did not aſſent to the *Roman* Church, might have been upon this very queſtion, in danger of the Inquiſition. To this purpoſe *Del-Rio* the Jeſuite, in the Prologue to his *Magical Diſquiſitions* doth look upon *Lutheraniſm* and *Calviniſm*, as two great fountains of *Witchcraft*. But yet as the Inquiſitors did with one eye reſpect the advancement of their publique Church, ſo with the other they had a regard to their private Profit. For which their way was prepared by thoſe conſtitutions of the *Roman* Biſhops which ordered them to have their charges defrayed out of the goods of perſons condemned: For ye need not doubt but they would pay themſelves well. *Nicholaus Eymericus* in his Directory of the *Inquiſition*, Part the third, Queſtion the hundred and Eighth, doth enquire which way the Inquiſitors and their Officers,

Officers, ſhould be provided for as to their charges or expences. And there he ſaith ſome were of opinion that the Biſhop of the place ſhould provide for them. Others again thought it behoved the temporal Princes. But a third ſort there were, who thought fit to provide for them out of the goods of perſons condemned. Now this way though *Eymericus* approves as juſt, yet he doth not like it as being ſomewhat ſcandalous to the Office, and therefore he wiſheth for any other way rather. Nevertheleſs *Innocent* the fourth, did not only like this way, but command it alſo by his Apoſtolique Letter directed to the Biſhops of *Lombardy* and other *Italian* Countries, which begins thus, *Cum per noſtras, &c.* as *Franciſcus Pegna* doth record in his Comment on the Directory of *Eymericus*. This Letter was written in the year one thouſand two hundred fifty two,

peculi-

peculiarly for the maintenance of Inquiſitors out of goods confiſcated, as containing nothing elſe in it. But in the preceeding year, the ſame Pope had directed his Apoſtolique Letter, unto the Magiſtrates of the ſame Countries, beginning thus, *Ad extirpanda demedio, &c.* wherein amongſt other things he ordains, how the goods of condemned perſons ſhould be diſtributed; Namely one part, to the common Treaſure or Stock of the City or place; another part to the Officers, who were employed in the buſineſs: And a third part to be laid up in a ſafe place, and to be afterwards expended according as the Biſhop & the Inquiſitors ſhould think fit. You may read theſe conſtitutions in that collection which the aforeſaid *Franciſcus Pegna* made, of the Letters which were written concerning the Office of Inquiſition, by ſundry Popes, for at leaſt three hundred and

and seventy years; that is, from about the year one thousand two hundred, or the beginning of *Innocent* the third, till about the year one thousand five hundred and seventy, or the latter end of *Pius* the Fifth. These things could never have been done, had not the Bishops of *Rome* by various methods and sundry policies, raised themselves from an Episcopal Chair, to a regal and an Emperial Throne. Now because the reader may plainly see, what work these Inquisitors made when they had once gotten power into their hands, I shall here set down word for word, the sentence of the Inquisition at *Avignion*, whereby they delivered several persons, into the hands of the secular Magistrate, to be punisht for the Crime of Witchcraft.

Visis processibus coram N.N.N. *&c. contra nobis constitutos reos, accusatos, & delatos: quibus tam per vestram,*

ſtram, & quorumlibet veſtrum relationem, ac propriam confeſſionem judicialiter coram nobis factam, atque ſæpius repetitam juramento veſtro medio: quam per teſtium depoſitiones, eorumque accuſationes, & alias legitimas probationes, ex dictis, actis & proceſſu reſultantes, nobis legitime conſtitit, & conſtat, quod vos, & veſtrum quilibet, Deum noſtrum omnium Creatorem & Opificem, Unum & Trinum abnegaſtis: & immitem Diabolum, hoſtem antiquum humani generis coluiſtis, voſque illi perpetuo devoviſtis: & ſacratiſſimo Baptiſmati, & his qui in eo fuerant ſuſceptores levantes, & proparentes, veſtrique Patres paradiſi, & æternæ hæreditatis, quam pro vobis & toto genere humano Dominus noſter Jeſus Chriſtus ſua morte acquiſivit, coram præfato Cacodæmone, in humana ſpecie exiſtente, abrenunciaſtis: infundente ipſo rugiente Diabolo denuo aquam, quam accepiſtis, veſtro vero mutato

nomine

nomine in ſacro Baptiſmatis fonte vobis impoſito, ſicque aliud commenticium nomen vobis imponi fictitio baptiſmate paſſi fuiſtis, & accepiſtis: atque in pignus fidei Dæmoni datæ veſtimentorum veſtrorum fragmentum & particulam illi dediſtis: & ut a libro vitæ vos deleri & obliterari pater mendacij curaret, ſigna veſtra propria manu, ipſo mandante et jubente, in reproborum damnatorum, mortiſque perpetuæ libro nigerrimo ad hoc parato appoſuiſtis: & ut ad tantam perfidiam & impietatem vos majori vinculo devinciret, notam vel ſtigma cuilibet veſtrum, veluti rei ſuæ propriæ inuſſit: & illius mandatis & juſſis jurejurando, ſuper circulo (quod Divinitatis ſymbolum eſt) in terram ſculpto (quæ ſcabellum pedum Dei eſt) per vos & quemlibet veſtrum præſtito, vos obſtrinxiſtis ſigno Dominico & cruce conculcato: & illi parendo, adminiculo baculi, quodam nefandiſſimo unguento ab ipſo Diabolo vobis

præscripto illiti, cruribus & positi per aera ad locum constitutum, intempesta nocte, hora commoda malefactoribus, statisque diebus ab ipso tentatore portati & translati fuistis: ibique in communi synagoga plurimorum malesicorum sortilegorum, & hæreticorum fascinariorum, cultorumque Dæmonum, accenso igne tetro, post multas jubilationes, saltationes, comessationes, compotationes & ludos, in honorem ipsius Præsidentis Beelzebub Principis Dæmoniorum, in formam & speciem fœdissimi & nigerrimi hirci immutati. ut Deum, re & verbis adorastis; & ad illum complicatis genibus supplices accessistis, & candelas piceas accensas obtulistis, & illius fœtidissimum ac turpissimum anum (proh pudor!) summa cum reverentia ore sacrilego deosculati estis: illumque sub veri Dei nomine invocastis: illiusque auxilium, & pro vindicta in omnes, vobis vel infensos, vel petita denegantes, exercenda efflagitastis:

atque

atque ab ipso edocti vindictas, maleficia, fascinationes tum in humanas creaturas, tum etiam in animalia exercuistis, atque homicidia infantium quamplurima commisistis, imprecationes, ablactationes, tabes & alios gravissimos morbos; ope jam dicti Satanæ, immisistis, infantesque per vos, nonnullis etiam scientibus tantum & annuentibus, arte jam dicta malefica oppressos, confossos & interfectos fuisse, ac demum in cœmiterio sepultos noctu & clam exhumastis, atque in synagogum prædictam, facinariorum collegium portastis: denique Dæmoniorum Principi in solio sedenti, obtulistis, detracta & vobis conservata pinguedine, capite manibus & pedibus abscissis, truncumque decoqui & elixari, & interdum assari curastis, jubenteque ac mandante præfato Patre vestro comedistis, & damnabiliter devorastis: mala denique malis addendo, vos viri cum succubis, vos mulieres cum incubis fornicati estis, So-

domiam veram & nefandiſſimum crimen miſere cum illis tactu frigidiſſimo exercuiſtis: &, quod etiam deteſtabiliſſimum eſt, auguſtiſſimum Euchariſtiæ Sacramentum per vos in Eccleſia ſancta Dei aliquando ſumptum, jam dicti Serpentis a Paradiſo ejecti præcepto, in ore retinuiſtis, illudque in terram nefarie expuiſtis, ut cum majori omnis contumeliæ, impietatis & contemptus ſpecie Deum noſtrum verum & ſanctum dehoneſtaretis, ipſum vero Diabolum, ejuſque gloriam, honorem, triumphum & regnum promoveritis, atque omni honore, laudibus, dignitate, auctoritate et adoratione honoraretis, decoraretis et honeſtaretis. Quæ omnia graviſſima, horrendiſſima ac nefandiſſima ſunt, directe in Omnipotentis Dei omnium Creatoris contumeliam & injuriam. Quam ob cauſam nos F. Florus Provincialis Ordinis Fratrum Prædicatorum, Sacræ Theologiæ Doctor, ac Sanctæ Fidei in tota iſta Legatione

Avi-

Avinionenſi Inquiſitor Generalis: Dei timorem præ oculis habentes, pro tribunali ſedentes, per hanc noſtram ſententiam diffinitivam, quam, de Theologorum & Juriſperitorum conſilio, more majorum, in his ferimus ſcriptis, Jeſu Chriſti Domini noſtri, ac B. Mariæ Virginis nominibus pie invocatis dicimus, declaramus, pronunciamus, et diffinitive ſententiamus: Vos omnes ſupra nominatos, et veſtrum quemlibet fuiſſe & eſſe veros Apoſtatas, Idololatras, Sanctiſſimæ Fidei deſertores, Dei Omnipotentis abnegatores & contemptores, Sodomiticos, et nefandiſſimi criminis reos, adulteros, fornicatores, ſortilegos, maleficos, ſacrilegos, hæreticos, faſcinarios, homicidas, infanticidas, Dæmonumque cultores, Satanicæ diabolicæ atque infernalis diſciplinæ, & damnabilis ac reprobatæ fidei aſſertores, blaſphemos, perjuros, infames, & omnium malorum, facinorum & delictorum convictos fuiſſe. Ideo vos omnes, veſtrumque

quemlibet, tanquam Satanæ membra, hac noſtra ſententia, Curiæ ſeculari remittimus, realiter et in effectu condignis et legitimis pœnis eorum peculari judicio plectendos.

Now others may think what they pleaſe of this Sentence, but for my own part when I Conſider with my ſelf, the ridiculouſneſs of thoſe things which were laid to the charge of theſe miſerable wretches; I would not have been in the place of the Inquiſitor general, and have paſſed the ſame ſentence, for ten thouſand Millions of Gold.

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

Arguments to prove, that there is no ſuch thing as a Witch in Scripture; and Arguments to prove that there is no ſuch thing as a Witch at all.

BY this time methinks It plainly appears, out of the preceeding Diſcourſe, that the notion of a Witch, as it is taken now adayes, hath no foundation at all in Scripture; but had its Original, or firſt Riſe, out of the Heatheniſh Fables, and was afterwards improved by Papal impoſtures. Nevertheleſs, to give further ſatisfaction, I ſhall produce ſome arguments to prove, firſt, That a Witch is not to be found in Scripture: Secondly, That there is

no ſuch thing as a Witch at all.

The firſt Argument ſhall be taken from the difference, between our vulgarly reputed Witches, and thoſe which our Tranſlatours of the Bible call ſo; for whom I pray do our Tranſlatours call Witches, but the Kings and Queens and Princes of the Earth, as alſo the Prieſts and Philoſophers and wiſe men of this world? Whereas the Witches now adayes are poor, ſilly, contemptible people; for inſtead of ſuch as King *Manaſſes*, and Queen *Jeſebel*, we now hear talk of this old Gammer and that old Goodwife. It ſeems the Kingdom of darkneſs is quite altered in its Politicks, and the Devil is not ſo wiſe as ſome men make him, if this Opinion of Witchcraft be true.

The ſecond Argument ſhall be taken from the *Sadduces*, a famous Sect amongſt the Jews, who denied Spirits, and the Reſurrection of the dead

dead; yet had the five Books of *Moſes* in high eſteem and regard: Wherefore either they did not underſtand Hebrew, or if they did, the notion of Witchcraft doth not appear in *Moſes*: And if this be once granted, I ſuppoſe the other parts of the Bible will eaſily follow: But perhaps you'l object and ſay, that the *Sadduces* were a Sect after the Captivity, which kept the Jews ſo long in *Babylon* that they forgot their own Tongue; and that the *Jews* after their return into *Judea*, ſpake not the *Hebrew* but the vulgar *Syrian*. To this I anſwer, That when the Sect of the *Sadduces* took its beginning is uncertain, and that however the Common People did forget the Old *Hebrew*, yet the Prieſts did alwayes preſerve its knowledge. Now that Prieſts themſelves were *Sadduces* is manifeſt, for even the High Prieſt *Joſeph Hyrcanus* was one of that Sect, as *Joſephus* teſtifies.

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The third and laſt Argument ſhall be taken from the different practiſes aſcribed unto our vulgarly ſuppoſed Witches, and unto thoſe in our Tranſlation of the Bible: For our modern Witches practiſe a ſecret occult Art, and 'tis a great Art to diſcover them by ſeveral ſtrange ſigns and horrid tortures: But thoſe whom our Tranſlators call Witches in the Bible, were ſuch as practiſed what they did openly, and in the face of the world, making publick profeſſion of their Art, which was, as I have already made it appear, the Counterfeit Art of Propheſying and working Miracles. But alas! had it been this myſterious Art of contracting with the Devil, and of uſing his power, the Profeſſors whereof are ſo clandeſtine in their wayes, that they can hardly be diſcovered by various ſcrutinies and inquiries; how impoſſible a thing had it been, for *Saul* to turn them all out of *Iſ-*

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rael, as we read he did, 1 *Sam.*28. This I am ſure of, a Proclamation now adayes ſet out to that purpoſe, would avail nothing, and only ſerve to move the laughter of thoſe who ſtood by to hear it.

If then there be no ſuch thing as a Witch in Scripture, I ſhall make uſe of that as the firſt argument, to prove that there is no ſuch thing as a Witch at all. Nor let any one that abounds with words, and his own ſenſe; immediately cry out; then there is no ſuch River as *Thames*, there is no ſuch Country as *America*, if ſilence in Scripture ſerves for an argument. A man may make ſuch inſtances from morning to night, and make a great noiſe to no purpoſe; as if there were no difference between thoſe things which lye quite beſides the ſcope of the Scriptures notice, and thoſe things which if they be true, the Scriptures could not be ſilent of, without the charge

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of imperfectio[illegible] Let any one but read the Law of *Moſes*, and then ſeriouſly conſider, why it ſhould be ſo ſevere againſt inceſtuous and beſtial Concubinage, and yet not ſo much as mention diabolical. The Jews were forbid to meddle with ſtrange women of other Nations, and ſhould there be no caution given againſt their medling with ſtrange creatures, as it were of another world? Mark how curious the Law is in matters of uncleanneſs, and ſhall an ordinary running Iſſue be ſo much talkt of, and no mention made of Teats running with blood and ſuckt by Devils? Laſtly, that Law which by its years of Jubilee, and ſeveral other Conſtitutions, provided more againſt oppreſſion and cruelty then any other Law in the world; That Law which ſo deteſted the murther of men, that it made them merciful to their neighbours beaſts; (I ſay that Law) could never paſs over

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in ſilence, the cruel and abominable actions of Witches againſt both man and beaſt. Without queſtion, it would have inflicted upon them the ſevereſt puniſhments; and for the diſcovery of their ſecret and deviliſh contracts, it would have laid down ſufficient marks for tryal; eſpecially ſince in a far leſs matter of adultery, it made uſe of that horrible and amazing tryal, by the bitter water which cauſed the Curſe.

Secondly, I argue from the miſerable poverty of our vulgarly reputed Witches, that they are wrongfully accuſed: For I am not willing to believe, that they have ſuch a power with the Devil, as to make him do wonderful things at their command, when they never command him to fetch them money, and to fetch them bread; indeed in the night time he carries them I know not whither, and there they meet with great variety of imagina-

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ry mirth and feaſting. Now ſuch as their Feaſt is, ſo is their Witchcraft, not real, but imaginary, as only exiſting in the fooliſh fancies of men.

In the third place, I charge thoſe who obſtinately maintain there are Witches, either with irrationality or impiety; For 'tis irrational to think, that the Devils are Creatures full of malice, and breathing nought but miſchief againſt the whole Race of man, and that they ſuffer a man to live, when they can ſo eaſily kill us at the command of a Witch. But if you evade this, by ſaying, that Devils cannot hurt us without Gods permiſſion; then I ſay 'tis impious to concern the Great God with Witchcraft. 'Tis true indeed, he may ſend Death and Diſeaſes amongſt the Sons of men, to puniſh them for their ſins at his own pleaſure; but that he ſhould do ſo, at the deſire of the Devil, upon the command

command of a Witch, is ſuch a gratification of malice, as is far from God to perform. *Calvin* in his Sermons on the two firſt Chapters of *Job*, takes a great deal of pains to explode this Opinion of Gods permiſſion, and ſhews by ſeveral examples of *Abſolom*, *Ahab*, and *Nebuchadnezzar*, that God doth not barely permit, but orders and determines the actions of Devils and wicked men; affirming that if Aſſes could ſpeak, they would ſpeak wiſer then thoſe men, who talk of Gods permitting: Nor will he grant, that God afflicted *Job* upon Satans requeſt, but becauſe he himſelf had ſo determined to try *Jobs* Patience.

Laſtly, the vanity and falſneſs of their Opinion, who believe there are Witches, appears from nothing more then from this, that it aſcribes unto the Devil an Omnipotent Power: Inſomuch, that no rational man by the

the light of reaſon, ſhall be able to tell from the Hiſtory of the Goſpel, whether Chriſt were a Witch or no; for let ſome men think what they pleaſe, the Holineſs of his Doctrine is not the thouſandth part ſuch a proof of his acting by a Divine Power, as the miraculouſneſs of his works. But alas! what were his Miracles, or how were they to be valued, if malicious Creatures, without a Divine Commiſſion enabling them thereto, can make Frogs and Serpents, raiſe the dead, give Law unto the winds and Seas; to mention no more of thoſe prodigious works aſcribed unto Devils upon the account of Witchcraft? For my part, I believe that Devils are aerial creatures; and though they may have more skill, agility and ſtrength, then men, yet that they act as men do, by applying of natural agents and patients to one another in this ſublunary world: But as for the world

Ætherial

Ætherial and Cæleſtial, I ſuppoſe they have no power there; conſequently, that in ſpight of them, the wind bloweth where it liſteth, and that the ſeaſons of the year, as alſo the fruits of the earth, are nei ther promoted nor hindred by them, but immediately depend upon the motions and mutual aſpects of the glorious Cæleſtial Stars, that are no way obnoxious to diabolical powers. They who think otherwiſe, let them conſider how near they approach unto the Opinion of the *Perſians*, who held there were two great Beings, both Almighty, both at mutual and perpetual war; one, the Author of all good, the other, of all evil: The good Principle they called *Oromaſdes*, and the evil one *Arimanius*. Of the ſame Opinion were the *Egyptians*, as appears by *Oſiris* and *Typhon*; from them *Pythagoras* conveighed it to *Greece*. In a word, the whole Heathen world ſeems to

have been infected with this conceit, believing infernal as well as ſupernal Gods; and therefore they had ſacrifices, as well to appeaſe the anger, and to avert the miſchiefs of the one, as to propitiate and procure the bleſſings of the other. Nor can thoſe Chriſtians be excuſed from the ſame infection, who upon the account of Witchcraft, attribute omnipotency to the Devil; for what leſs do they believe concerning the Prince of the Devils, and of his power? If according to them, he can command the influence of the Sun, and govern the motion of the Stars; if he can open the bowels of the earth, and cauſe the vapours to aſcend in clouds into the middle Region of the Air, and thence again deſcend upon the earth, in thunder and lightning, and violent ſtorms; if he can transform men and women into Cats, and if he can Frogs and Serpents create.

Wherefore

Wherefore I conclude, it was a very ſeaſonable decree, made by the Council of *Ancyra*, more ancient then the *Nicene* Council; wherein they declare unto all Chriſtians, the Heatheniſhneſs of this belief and opinion: Their words are theſe; *Illud etiam non eſt omittendum, quod quædam ſceleratæ mulieres retro poſt Satanum converſæ, dæmonum illuſionibus & phantaſmatibus ſeductæ, credunt & profitentur, ſe nocturnis horis, cum Diana Paganorum Dea, vel cum Herodiade, & innumera multitudine mulierum, equitare ſuper quaſdam beſtias, & multa terrarum ſpatia intempeſtæ noctis ſpatio pertranſire, ejuſque juſſionibus velut Dominæ obedire, & certis noctibus ad ejus ſervitium evocari: Sed utinam hæ ſolæ in ſua perfidia periiſſent, & non multos ſecum in infidelitatis interitum pertraxiſſent: Nam innumera multitudo hac falſa opinione decepta, hæc vera eſſe credit, & credendo a recta fide*

deviat, & in errore Paganorum revolvitur, cum aliquid divinitatis aut numinis extra unum Deum arbitratur. Quapropter ſacerdotes per Eccleſias ſibi commiſſas, populo omni inſtantia prædicare debent, ut noverint hæc omnimodis eſſe falſa, & non a Divino ſed a maligno ſpiritualia phantaſmata, mentibus fidelium irrogari. Siquidem ipſe Satanus qui transfigurat ſe in Angelum lucis, cum mentem cujuſque mulierculæ cæperit, & hanc ſibi per infidelitatem ſubjugaverit, illico transformat ſe in diverſarum perſonarum ſpecies atque ſimilitudines, & mentem quam captivam tenet in ſomnis deludens, modo læta, modo triſtia, modo cognitas, modo incognitas perſonas oſtendens, per devia quaq; deducit. Et cum ſolus ſpiritus hoc patitur, Infidelis mens hoc non in animo, ſed in corpore opinatur evenire. Quis enim non in ſomnis & nocturnis viſionibus extra ſe educitur, & multa videt dormiendo, quæ nunquam viderat vigilando.

vigilando. Quis vero tam ſtultus & hebes eſt, qui hæc omnia quæ in ſolo ſpiritu fiunt, etiam in corpore accidere arbitretur; cum Ezechiel *Propheta viſiones Domini in ſpiritu, non in corpore, vidit? Et* Johannes *Apoſtolus Apocalypſis, Sacramentum in ſpiritu, non in corpore, vidit, & audivit, ſicut ipſe dicit, ſtatim inquit fui in ſpiritu. Et* Paulus *non audet dicere ſe raptum in corpore. Omnibus itaque publice anunciandum eſt, quod qui talia & his ſimilia credit, fidem perdit; & qui fidem rectam in Domino non habet, hic non eſt ejus, ſed illius in quem credit, id eſt, Diaboli. Nam de Domino noſtro ſcriptum eſt, Omnia per ipſum facta ſunt. Quiſquis ergo credit poſſe fieri aliquam creaturam, aut in melius, aut in deterius immutari, aut transformari in aliam ſpeciem vel ſimilitudinem, niſi ab ipſo Creatore qui omnia fecit, & per quem omnia facta ſunt, procul dubio infidelis eſt, Pagano deterior.* 'Tis true indeed,

the Pontifical Authors make a great ſtir in their Anſwers to this decree of the *Ancyran* Council; ſometimes endeavouring to evade its force with their abſurd interpretations, ſometimes to throw dirt in the face of the Council, as if it were not to be regarded: But *Alciat* in his *Parerga* doth ingeniouſly confeſs, that in theſe their anſwers, *Nec Cœlum, nec Terram attingunt*, they have neither head nor tayl. And which is more to be wondred at, *Martin Delrio* the Jeſuite is in this point ſo ingenious, as to diſſent from *Baronius*, who judgeth that this Council was held at *Rome*, under *Damaſcus*, in the dayes of St. *Hierome*; *Delrio* for ſundry reaſons, believing it to have been really held at *Ancyra*, the *Metropolis* of *Galatia*, according to the common aſſertion of thoſe who collected the ancient Cannons.

Now this Decree of the *Ancyran* Council, was the more ſeaſonable,

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in regard that a little before, *Manes* or *Manichæus* had ſpread abroad the Chriſtian world, that old Heatheniſh Doctrine of the two Principles, one of good, and the other of evil: and it is remarkable, that Witches and *Manichæans* are coupled together, by the Emperours *Diocleſian* and *Maximian*, in their Reſcript to *Julian* the Proconſul of *Africa*, *de Maleficis & Manichæis*, as it is cited out of the *Gregorian* Code by *Ruffinus* in his Collation of the *Jewiſh* with the *Roman* Laws. About a hundred years after, and ſomewhat more, *Priſcillian* and his followers did in a great meaſure embrace the Doctrine of *Manes*; inſomuch, that in the year five hundred ſixty three, there was a Council held at *Bracara*, a town of *Gallicia* in *Spain*, againſt the *Priſcillianiſts*. In the Decrees of this Council, *Manes* and *Priſcillian* are frequently joyned together, for their fooliſh conceits

concerning the power of the Devil, or evil Principle; but eſpecially they have one Decree, very conſiderable to our preſent purpoſe, wherein they anathematize all thoſe, who believe that the Devil can make any Creature, or ſo much as raiſe ſtorms and tempeſts by his own authority or power; the words are theſe, *Si quis credit, quod aliquantas in mundo creaturas Diabolus fecerit, & tonitrua, & fulgura, & tempeſtates, & ſiccitates, ipſe Diabolus ſua autoritate faciat, ſicut Priſcillianus dixit, Anathema ſit*: Wherefore if the Devil cannot raiſe thunder and lightning and tempeſts by his own power, he did no more in the caſe of *Job*, then *Eliah*, or any mortal man may do, when he receives a commiſſion from God. Hence I infer, that the Doctrine of Witchcraft, magnifying the Diabolical Power beyond its due proportion, doth ſavour too rankly of *Priſcillian* and *Manes*, and the Heathen world. Chap.

Chap. IV. *Conſidered.*

THE Firſt Argument is rightly underſtood, is to firm and ſure, that I never expect a ſufficient anſwer. Let any one but conſider with himſelf, the perſons now a days condemned for Witches, and then let him tell me, whether one of a thouſand be a perſon of quality. They are generally old women poor miſerable and deſpicable. I confeſs that before the reſtauration of Learning, in the times of Barbariſm and ignorance, there were ſome who were thought to deal with the Devil, meerly becauſe they excelled in knowledge, as Pope *Sylveſter* for one; who lived about a thouſand years after Chriſt. I confeſs alſo that now. and then in the Courts of Princes, ſome have been accuſed for Witchcraft out of Politick ends.

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So *Richard* the third would needs make *Jane Shore* a Witch in order to the Deſign which he had on the life of the Lord *Haſtings*. Nevertheleſs it hath been for theſe many ages, and ſtill is a thing very rare, for perſons of note to be charged with the Crime of Witchcraft. Now on the contrary, in our Tranſlation of the Bible we Read of Witches indeed, but who were they? Why either they were ſoveraign Princes, Or they were the Prieſts, Philoſophers and wiſe men of the World, there being no mention of any other, except the Woman that dwelt at *Endor*. The truth is when I think with my ſelf, how ready the Sorcerers were to *Pharaoh* King of *Ægypt*, and *Nebucadnezzar* King of *Babylon*, They ſeem unto me to be a ſort of men, bred up in the Court; Juſt as to this day in the *Turkiſh* Empire, (which in many things doth reſemble the ancient *Monarchyes*) the

the Great *Turks Seraglio* is the *Academy*, from whence proceed the Governors of Church and State. for ſo theſe Sorcerers ſeem to have been in antient times, the great Miniſters of Church and State. Nor will this Opinion of mine, ſeem ſtrange unto thoſe who Read the Book of *Daniel* and well obſerve it. There we may find, by the example of *Daniel* and the *Three Children*, the way how the *Magicians* were bred up of old. Namely they were choſen men for goodneſs of parts, they were bred up at Court, fed with the Kings Wine and the Kings Meat, Inſtructed in all manner of Learning, and afterwards according as they approved themſelves to their Royal Maſter, they were advanced to the Supreameſt places of Government. For it is plain that Sorcerers, Magicians, Aſtrologers, *Chaldeans* and the like, were all the ſame ſort of men; and that *Daniel* and

and his Companions were lookt upon as ſuch: Otherwiſe they had never been ſought after to have been ſlain among the reſt, when the Kings decree went out againſt the wiſe Men. Nay, what ſay ye, if *Daniel* himſelf at laſt came to be ſo famous, that he was made the Maſter or Prince of the Magicians? Theſe things being ſo, let any one lay aſide prejudice, and then let him tell me, whether theſe famous men which our Tranſlators call Sorcerers, and our modern old Women that are hanged for Witches, have any likeneſs or reſemblance to one another; and whether or no, my argument be not ſtrong and good, wherein I conclude it as a great ſign, that the Witch in our Tranſlation of the Scripture, could not be the ſame with our mdoern reputed Witch; becauſe of the vaſt difference which may be obſerved, in their quality and in the education of their perſons. This I

am ſure of that skill in Ancient Magick, was ſo honourable, that it was a condition required in all ſuch, as were capable to be choſen Kings of *Perſia*.

The Second Argument is not ſo ſtrong I confeſs, but that it might have been ſpared; becauſe it is eaſie to undervalue the Sadduces, as an erroneous Sect. However 'tis plain, that not only they, but we alſo muſt neceſſarily interpret the Scriptures in ſeveral places, to ſpeak according to the apprehenſion of the vulgar. For when the Law of *Moſes* doth forbid men, to conſult with the dead; We muſt not think that any could really do ſo. So that the Law only forbids the pretenders to that art, who by ſuch pretenſes deluded the people. In like manner though I ſhould grant, that in this precept, *thou ſhall not ſuffer a Witch to live*, the *Hebrew* word is rightly Tranſlated by our *Engliſh* word Witch; yet

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it would not follow, that there was any thing as a Witch indeed. It would only follow, that the vulgar did believe there was, being deluded by thoſe who for their own ends might pretend to ſuch an Art.

To the Third Argument ſome men do anſwer, that 'tis an unlikely thing, Witchcraft ſhould be practiſed openly, when there was ſo ſevere a Law againſt it as this. *Thou ſhalt not ſuffer a Witch to live.* Truely I ſhall eaſily grant, that when this Law was in force, then the Idol Prieſts were not permitted to play thoſe pranks, which we interpret Witchcraft. But 'tis apparent, out of the Hiſtory of the Kings of *Judah*, that they frequently rejected the Law of *Moſes*, and ſetting up Idols did conſequently encourage thoſe kind of men, who were neceſſary inſtruments for the performance of Idolatry worſhip. Then again in the time of reformation, when the

Law

Law of *Moſes* was reſtored: frequently down went the Idols, and their Prieſts were either ſlain or baniſhed, as alſo all that practiſed the ſame impoſtures. Now the Witch of *Endor* might eſcape, by the connivance perhaps of *Sauls* officers, yet it appears plain, that thoſe who were ſaid to have familiar Spirits, and to be turned out of the Land by *Saul*, were people of a known profeſſion. Otherwiſe, there could not have been any conſiderable execution done upon them, ſo as to deſerve the expreſſion, that *Saul* had turned them out of the Land. And this will further appear, out of the actions of *Joſiah*, who when he threw down Idols and did other acts of reformation; is ſaid at the ſame time, to have put away the workes with familiar ſpirits; which he could never have done ſo ſoon, had they been ſuch ſecret and occult practiſes as our pretended Witches,

but

but he must have tarried till such times as he could first discover them.

Having already shewed that there is no such thing as a Witch in Scripture. This First Argument that from thence doth prove, there is no such thing as a Witch at all, I think is past exception. For when the Law of *Moses* takes notice of lesser things, it would never have passed over in silence, things of greater moment, if they had been true. Diabolical Copulation being worse than bestial, and bloody Teats suckt by Devils, far worse than ordinary Issues. But of all I most admire, that those Nations which have believed Witchcraft, have also believed and made experiment of certain signs for its discovery. Yet never any could think of a sign to discover adultery. Only the Law of *Moses*, which is so curious in the discovery of Adultery, hath past by all those

many

many ſigns, which are commonly made uſe of for the diſcovery of Witchcraft.

Againſt this Second Argument. I never heard any thing but canting ſtuff, which paſſeth my underſtanding. But there is one way of anſwering it very eaſie, becauſe it will ſerve to anſwer any thing. Namely that which is taken, from the two common places, wherein ignorance is wont to hide it ſelf. I mean on the one hand, myſterious ways of Providence; as alſo on the other hand, the unknown deſigns of the Kingdom of darkneſs.

The Third Argument I confeſs, would have been ſtronger and better urged, if I had not inſiſted on the Devils killing of men, at the deſire of a Witch; but rather on ſuch actions, as are undoubtedly beyond the power of a Creature to perform. For it is impious to affirm, that the Devil can raiſe the dead,

or Create and the like, for in these cases, if the Devil performed any thing, it must be not by Gods permission, but his Commission, as the Prophets and Apostles did of old. That is God must do it for him: Which gratification of an old Womans malice, is wholy inconsistent with Divine goodness.

The Last Argument is of exceeding great weight, if we rightly consider the wonderful and astonishing works, which in all ages have been ascribed unto Witches. What Miracle is there of Christ, which they have not equalled? To be born of a Virgin, is a thing that deserves the highest admiration. Yet if you'l believe the assertors of Witchcraft in their Writings, The Devil may as a *Succubus* receive the seed of a man, and presently as an *Incubus* conveigh it into the Womb of a Virgin. Hence it is that *Delrio* inveighs against the *Calvinists*, for not believ-

ing

ing that the Virgin *Maryes* Hymen was entire after Chriſt was born. As if the force of the Miracle lay in that particular conſideration, and not in her being with Child, without the help of a man. I am not ignorant, that ſome men will gravely ſay, they do not believe, that Devils can get Women with Child, or that they can do any real miracle. To theſe men I muſt ſtill make the ſame anſwer, that I do not care what they believe, but what hath been generally believed in all ages. And therefore I ſhall conclude that ſince Holineſs of Doctrine, may out of a bad deſign proceed from an unholy ſpirit; tis dangerous to depreciate the Miracles of Chriſt; by ſetting up others of equal value, notwithſtanding any pretence of Holineſs in the one, and unholineſs in the other.

This I have done with the arguments, which I brought againſt

Witchcraft, and ſhall now conſider what hath been objected againſt my uſing the authority of the *Ancyran* Councel. Some ſay that I have not quoted the *Ancyran* decree faithfully, but have left out what makes againſt me. Wherefore now to pleaſe them, I ſhall ſet down the beginning of the decree which before was left out. The Words are theſe. *Ut Epiſcopi eorumque miniſtri omnibus viribus elaborare ſtudeant, ut perniciosam & a diabolo inventam, ſortilegam & maleficam artem, Irenitus ex ſiarochiis ſuis eradicent. Et ſi aliquem virum aut fœminam, hujuſmodi ſceleris ſectatorum invenerint; turpiter dehoneſtatum de parochiis ſuis ejiciant. Ait enim Apoſtolus; Hæreticum hominem poſt ſecundam et tertiam correptionem devita. Sciens quia ſubverſus eſt, qui ejuſmodi eſt. Subperſi ſunt & a diabolo capti tenentur, qui direlicto creatore ſuo, a diabolo ſuffragia quærunt. Et ideo a tali peſte,*

mundari

mundari decet ſanctam Eccleſiam. In theſe words I would fain know, what there is that makes againſt me. Unleſs any one believes that by *Ars Maleſica*, they meant Witchcraft in our modern ſenſe. But tis apparent they did not ſo, by the laſt clauſe of their decree, wherein they declare that he is an Infidel and worſe than a Pagan, who believes that any one beſides the Creator, can either make a Creature, or transform it into any other ſort of likeneſs. By theſe words it appears, how much they diſſent from the common opinion concerning Witches which makes them able to transform themſelves & others into the likeneſs of beaſts. The common opinion doth alſo believe that Witches do on certain nights ride through the air to places far remote, and perform ſervice to the Devil. This in like manner the Councel doth deny. So that when we read in their decree *maleſicam*

artem, he muſt not underſtand the vulgar Witchcraft, but ſomething of another meaning. Now what that meaning is, I ſuppoſe may be gathered out of the decree, which *Conſtantius* the Emperour and *Julianus Cæſar* made unto the people, as may be ſeen in the *Theodoſian* and *Juſtin. Codes.* I ſhall ſetit down word for word. *Nemo haruſpicem conſulat, aut Mathematicum; Nemo hariolum, Auguram & Vatem, prava confeſſio conticeſcat. Chaldæi, & magi, & cæteri, quos maleficos obfacinorum magnitudinem vulgus appellat, nec ad hanc partem aliquid moliantur. Sileat omnibus perpetuo divinandi curioſitas. Etenim ſuppliciocapitis tenetur, gladio ultore proſtratus, quicunque juſſis noſtris obſequium denegaverit.* Here we may ſee, that judicial Aſtrology, obſerving of Birds, & obſerving the entrals of ſacrificed beaſts, are amongſt other things, cenſured as *maleficæ artes.* I ſay amongſt other things, for beſides

ſides theſe therewere ſeveral ways of divination that came under the ſame cenſure. I ſhal only mention *ſortilegium*, or that kind of Lottery which was performed by the opening ſome book or other, and obſerving the place which firſt opened it ſelf. The Heathens would make uſe of *Homer* and *Virgil*, The Chriſtians made uſe the Old and New Teſtament, calling this way of divination, *ſortes ſanctorum*, and *ſortes Apoſtolorum*.

By this time me thinks it plainly appears, that the *Ancyran* Councel in the beginning of their Decree, did only forbid the Heathen Religion or Superſtition and that they did not intend our modern Witchcraft, which in the latter end of their decree they plainly evacuate by taking away its chief ingredients. The truth hereof did ſo appear unto many Pontifical Writers, that they either quarrel with the Councel its ſelf or with this decree. Amongſt

the reſt *Delrio*, whom I ſaid to be more ingenious than *Baronius*, in acknowledging the Decree to belong to the Councel of *Ancyra* whereas *Baronius* refers it to a *Roman* Councel under Pope *Damaſus*, I ſay *Delrio* is by no means ingenuous in mutilating the Decree by rejecting the greater part thereof, namely that which makes againſt thoſe opinions of Witches and Witchcraft which he endeavours to maintain in his Magical Diſquiſitions. But I am ſtill of *Alciats* opinion that thoſe who have endeavoured to anſwer this Decree of the *Ancyran* Councel have ſaid nothing to the purpoſe.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

An Anſwer to their Arguments who endeavour to prove there are Witches.

AND now it is worth the while to conſider, what theſe men can ſay for themſelves, who ſo obſtinately maintain there are Witches. For they being on the affirmative part, are bound by the Laws of diſputation, to prove what they affirm; and 'tis ſufficient for their adverſaries to confute their proofs: But alas! theſe men are generally ignorant of the Hiſtory of Ages that are gone and paſt, and of the Scriptures alſo, as to what concerns the queſtion in hand: Wherefore they are wont to wave arguments, and to cry out, this is a queſtion

queſtion not to be diſputed on, in regard it is a matter of fact, and conſequently the object of ſenſe, not of reaſon. Thus when they are got to their Caſtle of defence, they make a great noiſe, and cry out upon the unreaſonableneſs of thoſe men, who will not believe what ſo many worſhipful perſons in the world have heard and ſeen. And what is that I pray? Why they have heard Trumpets ſound, and Drums beat, when neither Trumpeter nor Drummer have been near the place. They have ſeen chairs and ſtools move up and down a room, when no body toucht them, and many other things as ſtrange. Thus will they tell ſtories of this nature from morning to night if you pleaſe, though when they have done, they ſay nothing to the purpoſe. For ſuppoſe that all theſe ſtories were unqueſtionably true, yet they would not ſuffice to prove Witchcraft. I confeſs indeed they

they would evince the being of Spirits, a thing which no wiſe man can deny, though he doth not believe it: For it is one thing to doubt, and another to deny. For my own part I firmly believe, there are many thouſands of ſpirits, made of an incorporeal matter, too fine to be perceived by the ſenſes of men. Nor will I gain-ſay the Authority of ſo many in the world, who affirm they have ſeen and heard the ſtrange things which I juſt now mentioned; ſuppoſing that theſe ſpirits may often play mad pranks amongſt us. But ſtill I demand a reaſon, why I ſhould believe that they do ſo, upon the account of a Contract made with any man or woman; for till this is proved, the queſtion of Witchcraft ſtands unconcerned.

Well then, how do the affirmers of it go about to prove, that any man or woman is intereſted in theſe Deviliſh pranks? why truly by telling

ſuch

ſuch ſtories as theſe; namely, that perſons tormented by Devils, have fallen into their fits, at the ſight, or upon the touch of ſuſpected Witches: As alſo that perſons thus tormented, have ſeen the ſuſpected Witches in this or that place of a room, where no body elſe could ſee any thing at all; that the ſtanders by, having ſtroke with ſwords or knives at the places where the Witches were ſaid to be, the bewitched parties have cryed out, that the Witches were wounded in ſuch and ſuch parts of their bodies, though their bodies were then many miles diſtant; and that ſome immediately, going to their habitations to ſee, have found it true.

Now here it is to be obſerved, that theſe kind of ſtories are far different from thoſe which I ſaid before did evince the being of Spirits; for they are atteſted by numerous authorities, and worthy of credit: But

theſe

theſe are quite contrary, and are founded partly in the juggling deluſions of confederated impoſtors, partly again in the errors or ridiculous miſtakes of vulgar rumours: Juſt as the City of *London*, hath been confidently reported to be attempted with a Fire-ball, when a poor Linck-boy knocking of his Link, had left part of its flames blazing in a door. Nevertheleſs, that I may not be too ſtrict with my adveſaries, and to do them a courteſie meerly for the diſputation ſake, I care not if I grant, that ſome of theſe ſtories are true, Namely, that there have been perſons vexed by Devils at the ſight, or upon the touch of ſuſpected Witches, and quiet again when they were parted; for though ſhould grant this, I ſee no reaſon yet to grant there are Witches, but rather to conclude, that theſe ſpirits, who are ſo frolick and gameſome in doing us miſchief, when they perceive

ceive perſons ſuſpected to have ſet them a work, may on purpoſe ſo mannage their malicious tricks, as to confirm the ſuſpition, promote the accuſation, procure the condemnation of theſe miſerable wretches, and then may count this the cream of their malicious jeſt, or the height of their frolick, to ſee poor innocent people hang'd. Now this anſwer of mine, although it be needleſs, and *ex-abundanti*, is far more eaſie and unconſtrained, then any thing that the contrary opinion ſhall anſwer to thoſe objections, which may be made againſt that abſurd and ridiculous conceit, of wounding the Witches body at many miles diſtance.

Again, they are wont to ſay, for the proof of Witchcraft, that immediately upon the threatning or curſing, uſed by this or that perſon, ſuch or ſuch an accident hath hapned to the party ſo threatned and curſed. Thoſe men would do well to conſider,

ſider, that this world hath ſtood many thouſands of years, and is of vaſt extent, containing many Countries or Nations full of men, and with diverſe intereſts and paſſions; wherefore it is not to be wondred at, if there hath often hapned in it a notable concurrence of events. 'Tis certain, that poor old people when they are abuſed by the inſulting petulancy of others, being unable to right themſelves either at Law or at Combate, for want of money and ſtrength of body, do often times vent the paſſion of their diſcontented ſouls in threats and curſes. 'Tis alſo certain, that many men troubled with Diſeaſes of the head, or Diſeaſes of the heart, do ſeem to be in perfect health, and yet fall down dead on a ſudden. Now if theſe two accidents ſhould meet together, I ſhould ſee nothing but what is natural, nor ſhould I cry out upon the Devil and Witchcraft.

But

But methinks I hear ſome men object and ſay with a great deal of vehemence and confidence; what need there be any diſpute about theſe ſtories, ſince parties themſelves have confeſſed their own Witchcraft; and can there be any thing clearer then ſelf- confeſſion?

To this I anſwer, that the wiſeſt men in the world, may by impriſonment and torture be brought to confeſs any thing, whether it be true or falſe; as many miſerable Creatures, confeſſing themſelves Wiches, have had their Confeſſions extorted from them by ſuch curſed means. Beſides, I do not doubt, but ſome poor, ſilly, melancholick old wretches, have really believed themſelves Witches, and not to be guilty of thoſe actions, which not only their fooliſh neighbours, but worſhipful men in the World have charged them with. Nor is it to be wondred at by any one that conſiders the ſtrange effects

of

of melancholly, eſpecially if it hath been heightned by poverty, or want of good diet, by ignorance, ſolitarineſs, and old age: For that ſuch kind of people take their very dreams to be real viſions and truths, I am ſure, not only by conſequences drawn from their actions reported in Books, but by the experienee alſo of my own acquaintance. The truth is, want of knowledge in the Art of Phyſick makes men attribute unto Spirits meer natural diſtempers: Nay, Phyſitians themſelves, who have excellently laboured in Anatomy and Chymiſtry, perhaps have added little or nothing to the Diagnoſtick part of Diſeaſes, ſo happily begun by *Hippocrates*: Hence it is that we are ſtill in the dark as to the abſtruſer diſtempers of humane bodies, eſpecially ſuch as ariſe from melancholly; which are of ſo many ſorts, and have ſuch wonderfull effects, that whoſoever ſhould right-

ly deſcribe them, and make them plainly manifeſt, he would diſcover unto us an unknown world, full of unheard of prodigious monſters.

Thus I have ſufficiently anſwered the moſt material objections, not thinking it worth the while to inſiſt upon every triffle, ſuch as this is; why do not you believe that which ſo many thouſand of wiſe men in the world have believed? Sure they could not be all deceived: As if a man did not trumpet forth his own folly, by ſuch an argument, when the various Religions that have been in the world, are more than enough to convince one, how abſurd and ridiculous the wiſeſt of men are in matters of Opinion or Belief.

CHAP.

Chap. V. *Conſidered.*

'TIs a very uſual though a ridiculous thing for thoſe who affirm, Witchcraft when they are in company with others, who deny it inſtead of arguments to tell I know not what kind of ſtories concerning Spirits. And when they have talkt an hour together, you ſhall find nothing in their diſcourſe, that truly concerns the queſtion of Witchcraft. In regard a man may believe not only Spirits but apparitions alſo, and *Dæmoniacks*. That is, He may not believe only there are Spirits, but that they alſo appear unto men, and ſometimes poſſeſs their bodies, yet be far from believing Witches or Witchcraft. Now, if at any time they ſpeak pertinently to the queſtion, you ſhall find their arguments to be grounded either on the folly

of ſome, or the knavery of others; or vulgar fabulous reports, or melancholy, or other diſeaſes incident to humane bodies. The truth is their arguments don't deſerve to be taken notice of, nevertheleſs I ſhall here touch upon a way of arguing wherein they pleaſe themſelves very much. 'Tis this, ſurely he muſt needs be a meer Sceptick, who will not believe matter of fact witneſſed and atteſted by the oaths of ſo many, who living in ſundry ages and ſeveral Countries, have by their depoſitions ſo convinced the judges that they have ſentenced thouſands and thouſands to death. He that will not believe there is a Witch after all theſe teſtimonies, may as well deny there was ever ſuch a man as *Julius Cæſar*. But by their favour there is no compariſon between theſe two Caſes, for that there was ſuch a man as *Julius Cæſar*, hath been atteſted by ſuch men who

were

were capable of ſeeing and hearing him, he being an object of their ſenſes. But Spirits being not the objects of ſenſe, their actions muſt needs be obſcure, and not ſo manifeſt unto true reaſon, as obnoxious unto fancy and immagination. Which how ſtrange and roving and monſtrous it is in many men, can hardly be explained. But again, there is a great deal of difference between believing that there was ſuch a man as *Julius Cæſar*, & believing of a Witch; For I cannot ſuppoſe that thoſe who affirm there was ſuch a man as *Julius Cæſar*, can have any deſign in ſuch an affirmation. Whereas the affirmers of Witchcraft may palpably deſign their own intereſt (in regard there have been in all ages a ſort of men, who by a pretended holineſs, and I know not what kind of ſawcy acquaintance, with the Deity have ſet themſelves off unto the people to a great ad-

vantage, and enhanſed the value or price of their exerciſing Trade, which Trade receives great eſtimation or repute from perſons pretendedly bewitched. Thirdly, I know not what paſſion that belongs to a man, can incite him to affirm falſely the being of *Julius Cæſar*. But envy, malice, an inſatiate deſire of revenge, and coveting of other mens goods may eaſily provoke wicked and unjuſt men, to ſeek the life of others and by perjuries or falſe accuſations to charge them with the ſin of Witchcraft. Whereunto we may adde, that theſe unworthy accuſations are much encouraged by thoſe men, who on ſuch occaſions make uſe of conjuring prayers, and from thence do draw unto themſelves a falſe reputation of Sanctity or more, than ordinary communion with God. Now this is certain that in the ſayings and actions of men, whereas we deſire a

true eſtimate, we ought chiefly to conſider, *Cui bono*, that is for what end or advantage they were ſaid and done.

CHAP. VI.

How the Opinion of Witches came at firſt into the World.

BY this time methins I cannot chuſe but wonder at the large ſpreading of this fooliſh Opinion amongſt men, and its taking ſuch deep root in their minds: But then again, I ceaſe to wonder when I conſider with my ſelf, that ſome men are Knaves, others are Fools, and that all men have fear implanted in them by Nature, the very ſtrongeſt of all their paſſions; for although it be an impious ſaying, and irrational, that fear was the firſt thing which

brought Gods into the world, yet I am apt to believe, it firſt of all brought in theſe omnipotent Devils, that contract with Witches: For melancholick perſons being exceeding timerous by Nature, and of exceeding ſtrong imaginations, upon the ſeeing or hearing of any frightful thing are very prone unto troubleſome dreams, and apt to create ſtrange apparitions in their own brains; which dreams and apparitions, no man in the world ſhall perſwade them to the contrary, but that they are real truths, eſpecially if their melancholly be exceſſive, and border upon madneſs: Add hereunto, that other men not addicted to melancholly, may upon ſundry occaſions meet with apparitions; namely, ſometimes when they are ſick of Feavers, ſometimes when their minds have been poſſeſſed, and their imaginations wrought upon by frightful ſtories; and ſometimes a-

gain,

gain, when their eyes being weak, they walk in a thick air towards evening by the water ſide. Not to mention thoſe diſturbances which may ariſe in mens fancies from an inordinate diet, either in quantity or quality, and from ſundry other irregularities, it being eaſie for a man to be troubled with the Night-mare, before he ſhall be able to get faſt aſleep, if he goeth into a cold bed when his body is ſtiff with cold.

Now that theſe and many other like occaſions did oftentimes preſent apparitions unto men, was well enough known unto thoſe who governed the ancient world, eſpecially the Eaſtern parts thereof, for they were wiſe Politicians, famous in their Generations, and very well experienced in the Nature of Man: wherefore knowing how furious and head-ſtrong a Beaſt the Multitude is, not to be dealt with unleſs you come as it were on their blind

ſide,

ſide, that is, unleſs you take them by the weakeſt part,& lay hold on their paſſion of fear, (I ſay knowing this) they promoted theſe fears of the people, and improved them for the deſigns of Government. Hence it came to paſs, that whatſoever was extraordinary in Nature, and apt to aſtoniſh, they aſcribed unto theſe Apparitions or Spirits: Namely, in the ſtarry Heavens, the Eclipſes of the Sun and Moon, Thunder and Lightning in the Clouds, Peſtilential ſeaſons, and ſeaſons of Famine here below, and alſo the moſt hideous of Diſeaſes, whether they were ſtrange kind of Tumours in the body, or Convulſion fits, or ſeveral ſorts of madneſs, and the like: For the remedying of which diſaſtrous accidents, and the taking away of their malignant effects, many Charms or Spells were ordained, many exorciſing or conjuring prayers were invented; In a word, many Religious

Rites

Rites or Ceremonies of worſhip were inſtituted, with a world of variety and fancy. The *Ægyptians*, that ancient and wiſe people, the very Fathers of learning, had a reſpect unto theſe kind of Spirits in their publick worſhip, as may be gathered from *Plutarch* in his Treatiſe concerning the decay of *Oracles*, where he brings in this conſideration of their Religious Rites, as a probable argument, that they were the firſt Opiners of *Dæmons*; I mean, the firſt that brought in the Opinion of the exiſtence of Devils.

In proceſs of time, theſe actions of the Prieſts, and grand Politicians of the world, began to be imitated by private perſons, not only men, but women alſo, ſuch as ſhe was that dwelt at *Endor*; for what will not ſome attempt to do, when a neceſſitous poverty doth torment them with a greedy deſire of gain? Theſe kind of ſhirking people, a Genera-

tion

tion of impudent Liars, Mountebanks in Divinity and Phyſick, have all along peſter'd the Ages in which they lived. *Hippocrates* treating περὶ ἱερῆς νόσου, or the Falling Sickneſs, hath excellently well deſcribed the knaviſh impoſtures of ſome in his times, who to cloak their ignorance of that Diſeaſe, pretended it came immediately from the hand of God, and therefore was to be cured with certain expiations and charms. Theſe men, he ſaith, had nothing but God in their mouths, and yet notwithſtanding this holineſs, they baſely deluded the people with Magick cheats: So alſo did the Heathen Divines, I mean their pretended Philoſophers, men full of words and beards, who for the love of gain, and a croud of Diſciples, would frequently make ſhew of I know not what ſublime kind of knowledge, and intimate acquaintance with the Deity, by vertue whereof, they would

would undertake to charm an exorciſe the evil ſpirits. *Lucian* in his Dialogue, Entituled φιλοψευδὴς, lovers of lyes, makes very good ſport with theſe kind of knaves.

Now when Hunger and Covetouſneſs had engaged private perſons, in ſuch kind of actions as the Prieſts were engaged in out of policy, they not enduring to ſee their Office invaded, did declare unto the World, That all ſuch as invaded ſacred things, contrary to the due Rites and Ceremonies, were ſo far from any Communion with the Gods, that they were rather abandoned by them, and expoſed unto the ſociety of evil Spirits; by which Converſation they became full of malice, and all ſorts of vice and miſchief, like unto the Devils with whom they converſed; for that this was the aſſertion of the ancient *Chaldæan* Prieſts, is evident in that Treatiſe of *Jamblichus*, which treats of

of the myſteries of the *Egyptians*, *Caldæans* and *Aſſyrians*. And thus I ſuppoſe I have given a true account of the riſe and origine of Witchcraft.

But howſoever this opinion of Witches might probably take its firſt riſe in the Eaſtern parts, it quickly alſo came into the Weſt, and there at length it very much prevailed, by reaſon of the *Platonick* Philoſophers: For theſe men being addicted unto Fabling and Allegorizing, became ſo vain, as to turn, by an overweening credulity, their Fables and Metaphors into reality. I confeſs this Doctrine of theirs, that Knowledge and Vertue are the two things which purifie the Soul of man, and bring it into a God-like perfection, is praiſe-worthy; As alſo on the contrary, that Vice and ignorance corrupt men with a Diabolical and Beſtial pravity: Nevertheleſs 'tis not to be endured, that ſuch

ſuch ſimilitudes as theſe, ſhould be the ground of aſſerting ſome mens viſions and frequent conferences with the Gods, other mens aſſociations and confederacy with Devils: For my part, I can ſee no difference between the actions of the Phyloſophical Heathen Prieſt, and the Magician or Witch, but only this, that the one had Law or Authority on his ſide, the other had not. This is ſo manifeſt, that *Valentinian* and *Valerian*, though Chriſtian Emperors, were fain to gratifie the greater part of their Subjects, being Heathens, by making a Law, wherein they did vindicate the Religion of their Anceſtours, that is the Heathen, from the foul aſperſion of Witchcraft. This Law may be found in the *Theodoſian Code*, though it be left out in that of *Juſtinian*.

In a word, whoſoever ſhall read the *Platonick* writings, he ſhall find them full of confident Diſcourſe about

about that which they did not underſtand, concerning the Gods, Dæmons, and Spirits of men: Much do they talk of a Familiar Spirit which every man hath, calling it ſometimes the ὁ οἰκεῖος, ſometimes ὁ σύνθρονος, ſometimes the ὁ ἐπιλήχων ἡμᾶς δαίμων. Nor is it to be wondred at, if Chriſtian Authors have too much exceeded on ſuch ſubjects; in regard 'tis well enough known how much the Primitive Chriſtians admired the *Platonick* Sect. Nor is it unlikely, that in their frequent Exorciſings and Conjurations, they did but imitate the *Platonicks*, who themſelves did therein but tread the ſteps of the ancient *Ægyptian* Prieſts: Amongſt whom it was uſual to Conjure the Devils with ſtrange kind of threats, namely, that if they would not do as the Prieſts would have them, they would threaten to tear the Heavens aſunder, and to reveal the ſecret of *Iſis*, with other threats of the like

Nature

Nature; as may be ſeen in the aforeſaid Treatiſe of *Jamblicus*.

Chap. *VI. Conſidered.*

THE Religion of the ancient Heathens did mainly conſiſt of ſuch kind of ſacrifices and other ceremonies, as were ordained partly to conciliate and procure the favour and aſſiſtance of good ſpirits. Through ſuch kind of ſacrifices as theſe *Longinanus* the Platoniſt told Saint *Auguſtine* that the way to true happineſs did lead, for there was no communication with the Gods, as the Platoniſts held but by the mediation of good *Dæmons* whom they affirmed to be the meſſengers and interpreters between Gods and men, inſomuch that *Plato* himſelf makes the whole buſineſs or art of Religious Prieſts whether Propheſie or Miracles, or ſacrifices to

depend on *Dæmons*, Διὰ τοῦτο ſaith *Plato* ſpeaking of the *Dæmoniacal* nature, ἡ μαντικὴ ἡ πᾶσα χρῆσις καὶ ἡ περὶ ἱερείων τέχνη περί τε τὰς θυσίας καὶ τὰς ἐπῳδὰς καὶ τὴν μαντείαν πᾶσαν καὶ γοητείαν. Now the way which the Prieſt inſiſted on in Courting and procuring the preſence of good *Dæmons*, as alſo in chacing away the bad, was to obſerve the Sympathies and Antipathies between Cæleſtial and Terreſtrial things. Which being rightly obſerved, they were able as they pretended to make due compoſitions of things Terreſtrial, in their ſacrifices for the gaining of their intended purpoſes with the powers Cæleſtial. As may be ſeen more at large in the Treatiſe of *Proclus*, concerning Sacrifice and Magick. But when private Perſons pretended to divination charms, raiſing of the dead invocation of *Dæmons*, and ſuch like actions of the Prieſts. The Prieſt objected againſt them, their

inſufficiency in the art of ſacrificing, and affirmed that by ſuch illegal ſacrifices, the communion of the good *Dæmons* could not be obtained, but only that of the Bad; by which means ſuch illegal intruders into the Prieſtly Office, came at length to be infected with Diabolical natures. In proceſs of time Chriſtianity getting foot into the World, the Jews and Heathens lookt upon Chriſt as a Witch, and Chriſtianity as Witchcraft. *Tacitus* doth down right, call it *Maleficium*. But the other ſide when the Chriſtians got uppermoſt, they were quit with the Heathens, and paid them in their own coyn: For they confidently affirmed, that the Heathen Religion was a Commerce with Devils, and upon that ſcore, ſeveral Laws were made againſt the practiſe of it, eſpecially there was one or two Laws, I mean that of *Conſtantius* and *Julianus*, written *Ad Populum*, which I have already cited

about the *Ancyran* Council, as alſo that other of theirs written *Ad Taurum præfectum prætorio*, which if they had been througly executed, might have deſtroyed half the Roman Empire; For though the government was in the hands of the Chriſtians, the better half did in theſe days ſtill adhere to the old Heathen Worſhip, which was now condemned as guilty of Witchcraft. The truth is not long after in the days of *Valentinian* the elder (as may be ſeen in *Ammianus Marcellinus*) One *Maximus* a baſe fellow but gotten it ſeems into office did take occaſion hereby to torture and kill people of all ſorts and conditions in Rome, in ſo much that the Senate it ſelf finding it to be every mans caſe, no man knowing whoſe turn ſhould be next were fain to interpoſe, by ſending a ſolemn Embaſſy to *Valentian*, which took ſuch effect as to cauſe that reſcript unto the Senate, which

vindicated

vindicated the heathen religion from the aſperſion of Witchcraft, I ſhall ſet it down word for word.

Imp. Valent. Val. & Grat. A A A.
Ad Senatum.

Haruſpicinam ego nullum cum maleficorum cauſis habere conſortium judico. Neque ipſam aut aliquam præterea conceſſam a majoribus religionem genus eſſe arbitror criminis, Teſtes ſunt leges a me in exordio imperii mei datæ quibus unicuique quod animo imbibiſſet colendi libera facultas tributa eſt. Nec haruſpicinam reprehendimus ſed nocenter exerceri vetamus. Thus we ſee how Witches came into the world, firſt the Prieſts called private men ſo. Afterwards Prieſts of different Religions called one another ſo, and condemned one anothers religions upon the account of Witchcraft or Commerce with Devils. The truth is the Platonick

Philoſophers or Divines for the Prieſts were generally of that ſect, did ſo impudently pretend to the knowledge of Spirits, and to an intimate acquaintance with them, as I can hardly blame thoſe who cenſured them as Witches. Can any one read the lives of *Plotinus Iamblicus*, and others without amazement. 'Twas as eaſie forſooth for one of theſe fellows to call a *Dæmon*, or a *God*, into their preſence, as for another man to call his own ſervant. But indeed, I the leſs wonder at thoſe lies which the Platoniſts have ſo freely vented, concerning Spirits or Dæmons, in regard their Maſter *Plato* concludes his *Timeus* with this Doctrine, that as the bodies of men are cured with hurtful medicines if wholeſome ones wont ſerve turn. So the ſouls of men, if they wont be led by truth, are to be reſtrained with lies. Upon this account he there commends that fiction of the tranſmigration

of ſouls, and in particular he praiſeth that *Homer* the Poet, for making uſe of ancient Fables. Indeed, had the Platonick Philoſophy been written in Verſe, *Plato* might have been as excuſable, as *Homer* & the Platoniſts as the Poets upon the account of Poetical fiction. But now who can read with patience, ſuch notorious lies in Proſe.

CHAP. VII.

The Concluſion.

THus I have in the firſt place ſhewn, that there is no ſuch thing as a Witch in Scripture: Secondly, that it took its beginning from Heathen Fables. Thirdly, that it was afterwards improved by Papal impoſtures. In the fourth place, I have produced ſeveral arguments

againſt the affirmers of Witchcraft. Fifthly, I have anſwered their Arguments to the contrary. Sixthly and laſtly, I have endeavoured to ſhew by what means this Opinion of Witches came into the world; all which I have handled ſuccinctly, pointing as it were at the heads of things, and leaving it unto ſome abler pen, to handle this queſtion more at large; A thing which is very uſeful to be done; for if the Doctrine of Witchcraft ſhould be carried up to a heighth, and the inquiſition after it ſhould be entruſted in the hands of Ambitious, Covetous, and malicious men, it would prove of far more fatal conſequence unto the lives and ſafety of mankind, then that antient Heatheniſh cuſtome of Sacrificing men unto Idol Gods; inſomuch, that we ſtand in need of another *Hercules liberator*, who as the former freed the world from humane Sacrifices, ſhould in like manner

manner travel from Country to Country, and by his all-commanding Authority, free it from this evil and baſe cuſtome of torturing people to confeſs themſelves Witches, and burning them after extorted Confeſſions. Surely, the blood of men ought not to be ſo cheap, nor ſo eaſily to be ſhed, by ſuch who under the Name of God, do gratifie exorbitant paſſions and ſelfiſh ends; for without queſtion, under this ſide Heaven, there is nothing ſo ſacred as the life of man, for the preſervation whereof, all Polices or Forms of Government, all Laws and Magiſtrates, are moſt eſpecially ordained: Wherefore I preſume, that this diſcourſe of mine, attempting to prove the vanity and impoſſibility of Witchcraft, is ſo far from any deſerved cenſure and blame, that it rather deſerves commendation and praiſe, if I can but in the leaſt meaſure contribute to the ſaving of the lives of men.

Chap.

Chap. 7. *Conſidered.*

TO Handle the queſtion of Witchcraft largely, would be a work of labour indeed. For it would require an interpretation of words, an account of Hiſtory and Laws, as alſo of the wonders which may be produced, by Mathematical and Chymical operations. It would likewiſe require, a diligent inveſtigation or ſearch, into the paſſions diſeaſes and various infirmities, incident unto men and women, eſpecially that of deluded imagination. However I hope, thoſe hints which I have here given, may prove uſeful, eſpecially unto the ingenious Reader that can enlarge upon them with his own thoughts. Three things I have chiefly inſiſted upon. 1. That the opinion of Witchcraft is not

not to be found in Scripture. 2. That Politique intereſt hath founded it on fables. 3. That thoſe fables diſcover themſelves to be ſo, by their impoſſibility. Indeed amongſt Heathens, they ſeemed not impoſſible; but conſonant unto their great doctrine of the two principles of good and evil. But amongſt Chriſtians tis otherwiſe, who believe but one omnipotent, and him too good for malicious actions. Wherefore whoſoever will undertake, to over throw this diſcourſe of mine (that we may bring things to an iſſue) I ſhall be content to ſubſcribe, if he can but prove one of the two. Either that the Doctrine of Witchcraft, hath not been built upon ſuch effects, as the transformations of creatures: Or elſe that theſe effects, are poſſible for the Devil to perform. The firſt muſt be proved Hiſtorically; and here he will have no help from the Inquiſitors of heretical

heretical pravity, who in their various tryals and condemnations of Witches, have proceeded on the ſuppoſition of ſuch effects. The ſecond muſt be proved Philoſophically, and not by the teſtimony of men. For it is far more eaſie, and far more rational to believe, that witneſſes and lyars and perjured perſons, than it is to believe; that an old Woman can turn her ſelf, or any body elſe into a Cat, yet I confeſs, the witneſſes may not alwayes be liars, but only deluded. For ſo ſtrongly hath this opinion poſſeſſed the fancies of men, that tis probable ſome men have really believed, an Old Woman to have been the Hare, which they hunted; when they have loſt the Hare, on a ſudden, and found her panting. So they might believe as long as they pleaſed, But were I of the Jury, a Hundred of them ſwearing ſhould never make me believe ſo too. And now me thinks,

thinks, I can not think without trembling and horror, on the vaſt numbers of people that in ſeveral ages, and ſeveral Countries have been ſacrificed unto this Idol opinion. Thouſands, ten thouſands, are upon record to have been ſlain, and many of them not with ſimple deaths, but horrid exquiſite tortures. And yet how many are there more, who have undergone the ſame fate of whom we have no memorial extant. Since therefore the Opinion of Witchcraft is a meer ſtranger unto Scripture, and wholly alien from true Religion. Since it is ridiculous, by aſſerting fables and impoſſibilities. Since it appears when duly conſidered to be all bloody, and full of dangerous conſequence, unto the lives and ſafety of men. I hope that with this my Diſcourſe oppoſing an abſurd and pernicious error I have not at all diſobliged, any ſober unbiaſed perſon; eſpecially if he be

of

of ſuch ingenuity, as to have freed himſelf from a ſlaviſh ſubjection, unto thoſe prejudicial opinions, which Cuſtome and education, do with too much Tyranny impoſe.

BY

BY *way of Appendage to the preceding Diſcourſe, I thought to have tranſlated one of* Lucian's Dialogues, *called* Lovers of Lyes; *but being informed that it was already tranſlated, I only ordered the Book-ſeller to Reprint it: Nor can it chuſe but pleaſe the Reader, to ſee that the World is the ſame World ſtill; and that fifteen hundred years ago, men had the ſame humors and thoughts, in relalation to the queſtion in hand,*

as

as they have now adayes: For between some men now alive, and those whom the incomparable wit describes in his Ingenious Dialogue, there is no difference to be perceived, but only this, that they in the Dialogue did wear long Beards, whereas now 'tis the fashion to cut the beard off, or at least to cut it very short.

THE

THE
Apendage Conſidered.

THere are ſome who wonder, that I would offer to annex unto my book, a Dialogue of Lucian, who as they ſay was a known Atheiſt. But on the Contrary, he had too much Wit and Learning to be one. Nor did I ever meet with an Atheiſt in all my life, as to my own knowledge; and therefore am apt to believe, that thoſe who are recorded ſuch in Hiſtory, were rather reputed then, real Atheiſts. However I am ſure, this Dialogue is not Atheiſtical. Otherwiſe Sir Thomas Moore, would never have taken the pains to tranſlate it, out of Greek into Latine; and ſo to make it more communicable unto the Chriſtian World. I ſay Sir Thomas Moore, A Man who for his Wit and Learning and Vertue, was whilſt he lived, an

ornament unto this his Country; and since his death, by his never dying fame, he still continues to adorn it. But why should I trouble my self, to give any further satisfaction, unto a sort of men, who know nothing but a Syllogism, and whose Palats can relish nothing, which is not Metaphysically disputed, on both sides of the question, with a videtur quod sic, *a and* videtur quod non? *Wherefore I shall no longer detain the Reader, from this excellent* Dialogue, *which I having often Read, did as often find my pleasure renewed; in observing with what exquisite art, and delicatness of wit, our most ingenious Author, discovers the lying Spirit of Men.*

FINIS.

ΦΙΛΟΨΕΙΔΕΣ

Lovers of *LIES*:

A DIALOGUE

Made by the Famous

LUCIAN.

The Speakers, Tychiades *and* Philocles.

Tychiades. CAn you tell me the reaſon, *Philocles*, why moſt men deſire to lie, and delight not only to ſpeak fictions themſelves, but give buſie attention to others who do?

Philocles. There be many reaſons, *Tychiades*, which compel ſome men to ſpeak untruths, becauſe they ſee 'tis profitable.

Tychiades. This is nothing to the purpoſe. My queſtion concern'd not them who lye for profit: for ſuch deſerve pardon, and ſome praiſe, who have thereby defeated their enemies, and uſed it as a preſervative againſt dangers; like *Uliſſes*, who by ſuch ſlights ſecured his own life, and the return of his companions. But I now ſpeak of thoſe, who prefer the very Lie before Truth, and take pleaſure to buſie themſelves in Fables, without any neceſſary judgement. I would fain know what motives ſuch men have to do ſo.

Philocles. Have you met with any born with ſuch a natural love to lying?

Tychiades. There are many ſuch.

Philocles. What other motive can they have not to ſpeak truth, but their madneſs? Elſe certainly, they would never prefer the worſt thing before the beſt.

Tychiades.

Tychiades. This is nothing; ſince I can ſhow you many of great diſcretion and wiſdom in other things, who yet are Captives to this deluſion, and love of lies. Nor am I a little troubled to ſee men of excellent judgement in other things, take delight to deceive themſelves and others. You cannot but know thoſe Ancients better then I, *Herodotus*, *Cteſias* in *Cnidian*, and the Poets before them, *Homer* eſpecially; All men of great name, whoſe writings are ſtored with fictions. So that they not only deceived their hearers then but have conveyd their lies to us alſo in a preſerved ſucceſſion of excellent Poety and Verſes. I cannot, therefore, but bluſh for them, as often as they ſpeak of a Schiſme in Heaven, of *Prometheus* chains, the Gyants Inſurrection, and the whole Tragedy of Hell. How *Jupiter*, alſo, for love became a Bull or Swan; and how a woman was transform'd into a Fowl

or Bear. Beſides their *Pegaſus*'s, *Chymæra*'s, *Gorgon*'s, *Cyclop*'s, and the like ſtrange prodigious fables, fit only to recreate the minds of Children, who yet fear Goblins, and Fayries. But theſe are things tolerable in Poets. How ridiculous is it that whole Cites and Nations ſhould unanimouſly agree in a publick lie? Thus the *Cretans* are not aſhamed to ſhow *Jupiters* Tomb. The *Athenians* ſay, that *Erichthonius* grew from the earth; and that the firſt people of *Attica* ſprung from thence, like Coleworts. Yet theſe ſpeak much modeſtlier then the *Thebans*, who derive themſelves from a Serpents teeth ſown. Yet he who takes not ſuch ridiculous fictions for true, but upon diſcreet examination thinks it proper only for a *Corœbus*, or *Margites*, to believe that *Triptolemus* was carried through the Air by winged Dragons; or that *Pan* came aſſiſtant to the

the *Greeks* from *Arcadia* into *Marathon*; or that *Orithyia* was raviſht by *Boreas*; is held irreligious and fooliſh, for diſſenting from ſuch clear and evident truths. So powerful is a received lie.

Philocles.. Yet both Poets, *Tychiades*, and Cities are thus excuſable, that the one mingle fictions with their writings, the better to take their readers. The *Athenians*, *Thebans*, and other Countries, make their beginnings more majeſtick, from ſuch fabulous Originals. Beſides, ſhould all fiction be baniſht *Greece*, how many reporters would dye of Famine? Since none there are patient to hear truth ſpoken *gratis*. In my judgement, therefore, they who delight in lies, for no other reaſon, but becauſe they are lies, are moſt deſervedly to be laught at.

Tychiades. You ſay true. I now came from the learned *Eucrates*,

where I heard many things fabulous, and incredible; or rather leaving them in the midſt of their diſcourſes, impatient of narrations ſo much beyond belief, like ſo many Hobgoblins they ſcared me away with their prodiges and wonders.

Philocles. *Eucrates, Tychiades,* is a man of credit, nor can I believe that one of ſo deep a beard, of the age of threeſcore, and of ſuch continued ſtudy in Phyloſophy, ſhould endure to hear another faign in his preſence, much leſs that he ſhould offer to faign himſelf.

Tychyades. You know not, my friend, what lies he told, how conſtantly he affirmed them, and mingled Oathes with his fictions, and produced his children for witneſſes. So that I looking upon him, thought variouſly; ſometimes that he was mad, and beſide himſelf; ſometimes that being a cheater he had long ſcape'd my diſcovery; and had carried

ried about a contemptible Ape in a Lyons ſhape: ſo abſurd were his diſcourſes.

Philocles. In the name of *Veſta*, what were they, *Tychiades*? I long to know what coſenage he could diſguiſe with ſo long a beard.

Tychiades. I uſually, at other times, when I had leiſure, *Tychiades*, viſited him. But to day having occaſion to ſpeak with *Leontichus*, (who as you know, is my intimate friend) and being told by his boy, that he was early in the morning gone to viſit *Eucrates*, who lay ſick, as well to meet *Leontichus*, as to ſee him, (of whoſe ſickneſs I was till then ignorant) I went thither, where I found not *Leontichus*, (who as they ſaid, was newly departed) but a crowd of others; Among whom was *Cleodemus* the Peripatetick, *Dinomachus* the Stoick, and *Iron*; you know him; he that is ſo admired for *Plato's* diſcourſes, as if he

he onely underſtood exactly his meaning, and were able to be his interpreter to others. You ſee what men I name to you; All Sages, famed for vertue, heads of their ſeveral ſects; All venerable, and carrying an awfull terrour in their looks. There was preſent alſo *Antigonus* the Phyſitian, ſent for, I ſuppoſe, out of neceſſity of the diſeaſe. Though *Eucrates* ſeemed to be much upon the recovery, and his ſickneſs not dangerous. For the humour was again fallen into his feet. As ſoon as *Eucrates* ſaw me, remitting his voice, he feebly bad me ſit down by him on the bed; whom, as I entred, I heard lowd and ſhrill. I very careful not to touch his feet, and uſing the accuſtomed complement, that I knew not of his ſickneſs, but upon the firſt intimation came poſt, ſate near him. The diſcourſe of the company was concerning his diſeaſe, of which they had

in

in part already ſpoken; and were then going on, each ſeverally to preſcribe a ſeveral medicine, and cure. Take up from the ground, ſaid *Cleodemus*, with your left hand the tooth of a weeſil, ſo kill'd as I ſaid before, bind it in a Lyons skin, newly flead, then wrap it about your leggs, and your pain will preſently ceaſe. 'Tis not in a Lyons skin, as I have heard, ſaid *Dinomachus*, but in a Virgin Hindes skin unbuckt; And ſo the receit is more probable: For a Deer is ſwift, and moſt ſtrong, of feet. A Lyon, indeed, is ſtrong, and his fat, and right paw, and the ſtiff hairs of his beard are of great vertue, if one know how to apply them every one with his proper charm. But they promiſe ſmall cure of the gout. I alſo, once thought ſaid *Cleodemus*, that a Stags skin was to be uſed for his fleetneſſe; but ſince a certain wiſe *Lybian* hath me taught otherwiſe, and told me that

Lyons

Lyons are ſwifter then Bucks; for they, ſaid he, catch theſe in hunting. The reſt praiſed his reaſon, as well delivered by the *Lybian* Then ſaid I, do you think ſuch diſeaſes, as this, are cured by charms, or that an inward malady is eaſed by an outward ſpell? Whereat they ſmiled, and ſeemed much to condemn my ſillyneſs, as not knowing a thing ſo received, and not gainſaid, or diſproved by any underſtanding man. *Antigonus* the Phyſitian ſeemed pleaſed with my queſtion; who, it ſeems was formerly neglected in his offers to cure *Eucrates* by the preſcriptions of his Art; which enjoyn'd him to abſtain from wine, to eat herbs, and to ſtudy more remiſly. *Cleodemus*, in the mean time, ſmiling, replyed, ſaying, do you think it incredible, *Tychiades*, that ſuch ſpells ſhould be of power to cure diſeaſes? I do, ſaid I. Nor am I of ſo groſs a ſenſe, to believe that ſuch outward receits, which

which have no affinity with the ſprings and cauſes of the infirmity within, ſhould work, by charm, as you pretend, or by Impoſture; or upon their bare application ſhould inſtill cures. A thing not to be effected, though one ſhould bind ſixteen whole weeſils in the *Nemean* Lyons skin. I have often ſeen a Lyon halt, and go lame with pain in his whole skin. You are a very puny, ſaid *Dinomachus*, and have not learnt to know what power ſuch ſpels have over diſeaſes. Nor ſeem to me to underſtand the expulſion of periodical feavers, the charming of Serpents, and aſſwaging of botches, and other things performed by every old woman. All which being frequently done, why ſhould you think cures of this nature impoſſible? You pile too much, *Dinomachus*, ſaid I, and according to the proverb, drive out one nail with another. Nor doth it appear, that the things you ſpeak of,

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are by ſuch power effected. If, therefore, you prove not to me firſt by reaſon, that 'tis naturally poſſible that a feaver, or blayn, ſhould be frighted with a divine name, or barbarous ſpell, and thereupon forſake the place ſwoln, you have but hitherto uttered old wives tales. Thus ſaying, ſaid *Dinomachus*, you ſeem not to believe there are Gods; ſince you think it beyond the power of their names to work cures. Say not ſo, Good Sir, quoth I, for there may without impediment be Gods, and yet your preſcriptions may be deceitful and falſe. I adore the Gods, and behold their cures, and recoveries of ſick people by regular medicines and Phyſick. *Æſculapius*, and his followers heal'd the diſeaſed by wholeſome preſcriptions, not by the application of Lyons and Weeſils. Let him enjoy his opinion, ſaid *Ion*, I will report to you a miraculous paſſage. When I was a Boy, about the

the age of fourteen years, one came and told my father, that *Midas* his Vinedreſſer, a ſtout induſtrious ſervant, about the time of full market lay ſtung of a Serpent, which preſently gangren'd his leg. For as he was bending a vine, and winding it about a pole, the Snake crept to him, and biting him by the great toe, preſently ſlipt away, and retired into a hole; Whereupon he cryed out, and was ready to expire with pain. In the cloſe of the relation we ſaw *Midas* himſelf, brought by his fellow ſervants in a chair, ſwoln all over, diſcolour'd, in appearance rankled, and ſcarce able to breath. My father being much grieved, a certain friend of his, there preſent, ſaid, Take courage, Sir, I will preſently fetch a *Chaldæan*, who ſhall cure him. Not to be tedious, the *Babylonian* came, reſtored *Midas*, and drew the venom from his body by a charm, and by the application

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of a ſtone, cut from the pillar of a deceaſed Virgin, to his feet; and, which is yet more. *Midas* riſing from the chair, in which he was brought, went back into the field; ſo powerfull was the charm, and the ſtone taken from the tomb. Among his many other miracles, which he wrought, he went one morning early into a field, where having pronounced ſeven certain ſacred names, taken out of an ancient book, and purged the place with brimſtone and taper, and walkt it thrice round, he aſſembled to him all the Serpents of the country: So that drawn by force of the charm came many Snakes, Aſpes, Vipers, Efts, Dartars, Lizards and Toades; only one ancient Dragon was left behind, who for age, I believe, and not being able to crawl diſobey'd the ſpell. Whereupon, all are not here, ſaid the Magician, and preſently ſelecting one of the youngeſt Serpents, ſent

ſent him Embaſſadour to the Dragon. Who not long after came alſo. When they were all aſſembled, the *Babylonian* puft upon them, and preſently to our aſtoniſhment they were all burnt with his breath. Then ſaid I, pray tell me *Ion*, did the young Serpent Embaſſadour lead the old, or did he ſupport himſelf by a ſtaff? You are merry, ſaid *Cleodemus*. I was onee as great an Infidel in theſe things as you are now, and ſaw no reaſon to believe them; yet when I beheld the *Barbarian* ſtranger fly, (who as they report came from the North) I was convinced into a belief againſt my inclination. For what ſhould I do, when I ſaw him carried in the Air, walking upon the water, and in a ſlow and leiſurely motion paſs through the fire? But did you, ſaid I, ſee a Nothern man fly, or walk upon the water? Moſt certainly, replyed he, ſhod with pumps, after the manner of his Country. I

forbear to ſpeak of his ſmaller performances, his infuſion of Love, expulſion of Devils, raiſing of the dead long buried, publick preſentment of *Hecate*, and drawing down the Moon from Heaven. I will only report to you what I ſaw him do for *Glaucias*, the Son of *Anaxicles*. *Glaucias* no ſooner began to inherit his dead fathers eſtate, but he fell in love with *Chryſis*, *Demænetus* daughter. I was Tutor to his ſtudies. Who, had not love diverted him, had by this time learnt all the Peripatetick Sciences, ſince being but eighteen years old he had already gone over the *Analyticks*, and paſt through *Ariſtotles* Phyſicks to the end. Thus perplext with love, he revealed himſelf to me; who being his Tutor, as it became me, brought this Nothern Magician to him, hired for four Crowns in hand (which were to buy things for the ſacrifice) and ſixteen more when *Glaucias* enjoy'd *Chriſis*. He obſerving

observing the Moons increase, (the proper time for such inchantments) and having digged a hole in the house yard, about midnight, first call'd up to us *Anaxicles*, *Glaucias* father, dead seven months before. The old man stormed, and raged at his Sons love, but in conclusion gave license to his affection. Next, he raised up *Hecate*, who brought *Cerberus* with her. Then he call'd down the Moon, a various spectacle, by reason of her diverse appearances and changes. For first she resembled in countenance a woman, then she was transform'd into a beautiful Cow, then into a little dog. After this, fashioning a little *Cupid* of Clay, Go, said he, and fetch *Chrysis* hither. The Clay presently flew away, and shortly after she came and knockt at the door, and at her first entrance embraced *Glaucias*, shew'd her self distractedly enamour'd, and accompanied him till we heard the Cocks

crow. Then the Moon flew to Heaven, *Hecate* ſunk into the earth, the Apparitions vaniſht; and we about day break let *Chryſis* depart. Had you ſeen this, *Tychiades*, you would not long diſtruſt the force of charms. You ſay well, ſaid I, I would indeed believe this, had I ſeen it: But am otherwiſe to be pardon'd, if at ſuch viſions I be not as quick-ſighted as you. As for the *Chryſis*, you ſpeak of, I know her to be an eaſie amorous woman. Nor do I perceive any need why you ſhould imploy an earthen Embaſſadour to her, or trouble a Magician from the North, or the Moon, for the affection of one whom for twenty drams you may draw as far as the North-pole, being a woman ſo readily prepared to meet your Incantations: Though ſhe be thus unlike your apparitions. For they (as you report) at the ſound of Braſs, or Iron, vaniſh: But ſhe no ſooner hears Silver,

ver, but ſhe runs to the ſound. Beſides I cannot but wonder at the Magician, that being able to inforce love towards himſelf in the women of greateſt wealth, and thereby draw whole talents from them, he ſhould for the inconſiderable price of four Crowns procure affection for *Glaucias*. 'Tis folly in you, ſaid *Ion*, to believe nothing. I would fain ask you, what you think of them who have deliver'd Dæmoniacks from their poſſeſſions, and have evidently charm'd forth their Devils. I need not tell you how many the *Syrian*, who came from *Paleſtine*, a man skill'd in ſuch Arts, hath reſtored after they have fall'n down *Lunatick*, ſtared with their eyes, and foamed at mouth, and hath ſent them away cured, and releaſt them, for great ſums, of their diſtempers. For ſtanding by them as they lie, he asks the evil ſpirit from whence he entred into the body.

The poſſeſt perſon, mean time, is ſpeechleſs, and the Devil replying in *Greek*, or ſome barbarous Language, tells from whence he is, and how he entred the man; whereupon he by adjuration and threats, if he offered to diſobey, caſts him out. I ſaw a Devil caſt out black, and of the colour of Soot. No marvaile *Ion*, ſaid I, that you ſaw ſuch viſions; *Plato* the father of your ſect hath taught you to ſee *Ideæ*, a ſpectacle too refined, and ſubtile, for our dull ſenſe. Many others, as well as you, *Ion*, ſaid *Eucrates*, have met with Devils, ſome by night, others by day; I have, not once, but a thouſand times ſeen ſuch *Spectrums*; and was at firſt frighted with them; but cuſtome hath at length made them not ſtrange, or unfamiliar; eſpecially ſince an *Arabian* gave me a ring, made of the Iron taken from a croſs, and taught me an ambiguous, diverſe ſenſed charm, unleſs you refuſe

to

to give credit to me alſo *Tychiades*. How can I chooſe, ſaid I, but believe *Eucrates*, the ſon of *Dino*, eſpecially being ſo wiſe a man, and having the freedom to ſpeak what you pleaſe with authority in your own houſe? Hear ſome paſſages of a ſtatute of mine, then ſaid *Eucrates*, which nightly appears to all my family, both men and maids, who can witneſs ſo much to you, as well as I. Of which of your Statues, ſaid I? Did you not obſerve at your entrance, ſaid he, a fair Statue ſtanding in my Hall, the work of *Demetrius*, the Statuarie. Do you mean the Quoiter, ſaid I, who ſtands wryed in a Geſture ready to deliver, with his quoit hand reverſt, and one knee bent, as if he meant to vary poſture, and riſe with his throw? Not him, ſaid he; the Quoiter you ſpeak of is one of *Myrons* pieces. Nor do I mean the fair Statue next to him, filletted about the head with a bend;

which is a piece of *Polycletus*'s. You are also to pass over those which stand on the right hand as you enter; among whom are the Tyrant slayers, carved by *Critias Nesiòta*. Did you not mark the statue by the conveyance of water, with the big belly, bald, half naked, part of the hairs of his beard pluckt off, of huge sinews, and every way resembling a man? I mean *Pelichus*, he who is so like a *Corinthian* Captain. I saw such a one, said I, on the right hand of *Saturn*, having a wither'd wreath, and fillet on his head, and guilt plates on his breast; I, said *Eucrates*, caused them to be guilt, after he had in three dayes cured me of a desperate feaver. Was the famous *Pelichus*, then, a Physitian, said I? He is now, and take heed how you scoff at him, said *Eucrates*; least he shortly take revenge of you. I know the power of the Statute you laugh at; do you think he cannot as well inflict a fea-

ver,

ver, as expell one? Be ſo powerful a Statue, propitious, and merciful to me, ſaid I: pray, what elſe have your family ſeen him do? As ſoon as it begins to be night, ſaid he, deſcending from his Pedeſtal, he walks round the houſe; all my ſervants have often met him ſinging: he hurts none that give him way, but paſſeth by them without diſturbance; he waſheth himſelf much, and playes all night, as we gueſs by the noiſe of the water. Conſider, ſaid I, whether your Statue be *Pelichus*, or *Talus* the *Cretan*, who lived with *Minos*, whoſe brazen Statue was Centinel and guardian of the Country. Were he not made of Copper, but wood, I ſhould probably think he were not the workmanſhip of *Demetrius*, but one of *Dædalus* motions. For you ſay, he frequently walks from his Baſis. Beware, *Tychiades*, ſaid he, you be not hereafter ſorry for your flouts. I could

could tell you what he ſuffer'd who ſtole the farthings, which we every New Moon offer to him. The puniſhment of ſuch a ſacriledge muſt needs be direful, ſaid *Ion*. Pray what was it *Encrates*? I deſire to hear, how incredulous ſoever *Tychyades* be. Many farthings, ſaid he, lay at his feet, and ſome other Silver coyns were faſtened with wax to his knees, Beſides diverſe Silver Plates, offer'd to him by the devotion and gratitude of thoſe whom he had recovered from feavers. A ſervant of mine, a *Lybian*, one of my Grooms, perceiving the Statue one night abſent, adventured to ſteal his Oblations. Obſerve how *Pelichus*, finding himſelf at his return robbed, revenged himſelf, and bewrayed the Thief: Who all night walkt up and down the Hall in a Circle, unable, like one faln into a Labyrinth to get out; till next morning he was apprehended with his ſtealths about him, and pro-

proportionably whipt. Nor did he live long after, but dyed miſerably, beaten every night, as he ſaid, and confirm'd it with the marks ſeen in his body next day. Now, if pleaſe you *Tychiades*, ſaid *Eucrates*, laugh at *Pelichus*, and me, for a Doter of *Mino's* time. Certainly *Eucrates*, ſaid I, as long as Braſs is Braſs, and your ſtatue but the creature of *Demetrius*, the *Alopecian*, who carved not Gods, but men, I ſhall not fear the image of your *Pelichus*, nor much care for the threats of the original, were he alive. Here *Antigonus*, the Phyſitian, ſeconding him ſaid, I, *Eucrates*, have alſo a brazen *Hippocrates*, about a cubit long, which, as ſoon as the Candles are put out, walks circularly through all the houſe, making a noiſe, overturning boxes, compounding medicines, and flinging open doors; eſpecially if we omit to pay him his yearly ſacrifice. Doth *Hippocrates* the Phyſitian, then require

require to be ſacrificed to, ſaid I, and take it ill if he be not feaſted with Oblations at his ſet times? Methinks 'twere honour enough to pour wine to him, or crown him with Garlands. Hear another paſſage, ſaid *Eucrates* which I with many other witneſſes ſaw about five years paſt. One harveſt time, having diſpatcht my reapers about noon into the field, I ſolitarily retired my ſelf into a wood, to weigh and conſider of ſome things. Where, at my firſt entrance, I heard the howling of dogs, which I imagined to be my Son *Manſon*, going then abroad, as his manner is, with his Companions to ſport themſelves, and hunt. But 'twas otherwiſe: for preſently after followed an Earthquake, and a hideous bellowing like thunder. After this I ſaw a woman coming towards me of horrible aſpect, and near half a furlong tall, having in her left hand a Torch, in her right a Sword, at leaſt twenty

twenty cubits long. She had downward feet like a Serpent, upwards in the horrour of her countenance and viſage, ſhe reſembled a Gorgon; having Snakes for hair, which partly twind about her neck, others hung looſe on her ſhoulders. See, my good friends, ſaid *Eucrates*, how I yet tremble to tell the ſtory; and withall ſhow'd us the hairs on his armes ſtiff, and erected with fear. *Ion*, all the while and *Dinomachus* and *Cleodemus*, ancient men, gave him ſerious attention, as if drawn by the noſe, and expreſt a ſilent adoration of the incredible *Coloſſus*-half-furlong-woman, Gyant-like Hobgoblin. But I conſider'd with my ſelf, that ſuch men as they, who read wiſdome to young ſchollars, and were generally admired, differ'd only from children in their gray hairs and long beards, and were in all things elſe more eaſie to be deceived then they. Here *Dinomachus* put in, and ſaid, pray tell

me

me, *Eucrates*, of what ſize and bigneſs were her hounds? Bigger then *Indian* Elephants, replyed he, and alike black, their skin as rough, ſqalid and fowl. I, when I ſaw them, ſtood ſtill, and withall turn'd the ſeal of the ring which the *Arabian* gave me to the inſide of my finger. Whereupon *Hecate* ſtriking the ground with her ſerpentine feet, made a great cleft, which reacht to Hell, into which ſhe ſunk by degrees. I aſſuming courage, and taking hold of a neighbouring tree, leaſt aſtoniſht with the darkneſs I ſhould chance to fall in headlong, look't in, and ſaw all the things of Hell; the burning Lake of *Phlegeton*, *Cerberus*, and Ghoſts; ſome of which I knew, eſpecially my father, whom I ſaw in the very garments we buried him. Pray, *Eucrates* ſaid *Ion*, what did the ſouls departed do? What ſhould they do, anſwer'd he, but converſe in companies and ſocieties with their

their friends, and Allies, in the Daffodil mead? Henceforth, then ſaid *Ion*, let the followers of *Epicurus* urge arguments againſt *Plato*, and his diſcourſes of the ſoul. But did you not ſee *Socrates* and *Plato* among the dead? *Socrates*, replyed he, I ſaw, but not more clearly then to gueſſe at him by his baldneſs and ſtrutting belly. *Plato* I knew not, nor is't fit I ſpeak more then truth to my friends. After I had taken an exact and univerſal ſurvey of things, the vault cloſed, and ſome of my ſervants, of which my man *Pyrrhias* here was one came thither to ſeek me before 'twas quite ſhut. Speak *Pyrrhias*, do I ſay true? Moſt true, by *Jupiter*, Sir, ſaid the fellow, for I my ſelf heard the barking of the dogs through the Cave, and ſaw the flaſhes of the Torch. Here I ſmiled to hear the howling, and flames put in by the witneſs. You have ſeen nothing ſtrange, ſaid *Cleodemus*, or what

what hath not been ſeen by others. For I, in my ſickneſs, not long ſince, ſaw the like apparition. At which time *Antigonus* here viſited me, and gave me ſeven dayes Phyſick for a Feaver, more hot and violent then fire. One day all left the room, ſhut the door, and ſtay'd without, by your preſcription, *Antigonus*; if perchance ſolitarineſs might entice me into a ſlumber. But I, lying awake, ſaw a goodly youth approach me, cloathed in white; who after he had raiſed me, lead me through ſuch another cleft down to Hell; as I preſently perceived, when I beheld *Tantalus*, *Tytius* and *Siſyphus*. What need I report to you the reſt? Briefly, I was brought to a Tribunal, where were preſent *Æacus*, *Charon*, the Deſtinies and Furies. Where alſo one ſate as King, who ſeemed to be *Pluto*, by his reading of a Catalogue of their names who were to dye, and had already out-lived their limi-

limited time. The young man brought me, and preſented me to him. But *Pluto* much diſpleaſed, ſaid to him, his thread is not yet quite ſpun, let him therefore depart again. And fetch *Demylus* the Braſier, who hath exceeded his diſtaff. Whereupon I joyfully returned, releaſt of my feaver, and told all my neighbours, that *Demylus* was ſhortly to dye. Who then alſo lay ſick, as 'twas reported. And ſhortly after we heard the cryes of them that lamented his death. What miracle is this? Said *Antigonus*. I knew one, who after he had been buried twenty dayes, roſe again: For I gave him Phyſick before his death, and after his reſurrection. Methinks, ſaid I, in twenty dayes his body ſhould putrifie or periſh with famine. Unleſs you adminiſtred to an *Epimenides*. As we thus diſcourſt, came in *Eucrates* Sons from exerciſe. One a grown youth, the other about the age of

fifteen; Who having ſaluted us, ſat down upon the bed by their father; and a chair was brought for me. Here *Eucrates* taking freſh hint from the preſence of his Sons, ſaid, ſo may I have comfort of theſe two, (and laid his hands on them) as that which I ſhall now tell you *Tychiades* is true. 'Tis well known how dearly I lov'd my wife, the mother of theſe, of happy memory; which I expreſt both in my carriage to her while ſhe lived, and after her death: Bor I burnt with her, her whole wardrobe, and the garments ſhe moſt delighted in when ſhe lived. The ſeventh day after her funeral, I lay in this bed, as I do now, having abated my ſorrow. And ſilently reading to my ſelf *Plato*'s little tract of the ſoul, *Demœnete* entred, and ſate down by me, as *Eucratides* (pointing to his younger Son) doth now. The boy childiſhly trembled, and waxt pale at the narration. I, proceeded

ceeded *Eucrates*, as ſoon as I beheld her, imbraced her & ſobbingly ſhed tears. She permitted me not to weep, but blamed me, that after all my other expreſſions of affection to her, I had not burnt one of her guilt pantofles, which, ſhe ſaid, was fallen down behind a cheſt; which we not finding, caſt only the other into the funeral pile. As we thus talkt, an unhappy dog which I loved, lying upon the bed barkt, at which ſound ſhe vaniſht. Afterwards we found the ſlipper under the Cheſt, and burnt it. Can you ſtill doubt *Tychiades*, of truths ſo manifeſt, and every day apparent? By *Jove*, ſaid I, they deſerve to be clapt with a guilt Sandal, like children, who do not believe you, or impudently queſtion the truth. Here *Arignotus*, the *Pythagorean*, entred, a man of long hair, and venerable aſpect. You know he is famous for his wiſdom, and ſirnamed the Sacred. I was ſome-

thing relieved with his ſight, and according to the Proverb, though I had now got an Axe againſt lies. For certainly, ſaid I to my ſelf, this wiſe man will ſtop their mouthes from reporting any more ſuch prodigies. In a word, I thought fortune had unexpectedly ſent ſome God to my ſuccour. He ſitting down in a place which *Cleodemus* reſigned to him, firſt enquired of *Eucrates* his diſeaſe, and being informed how he did, askt us what we diſcourſt of; for as I entred, ſaid he, methought I heard you buſied in an excellent ſubject. We were perſwading this man of Adamant, ſaid *Eucrates*, pointing at me, to believe there were Devils. And that the ſhades and ſouls of men departed, did wander up and down the earth, and appear to whom they pleaſed. I could not chooſe but bluſh, and fix my look to the ground, out of reverence to *Arignotus*. Perchance *Eucrates*, ſaid he

he, *Tychiades* holds that their Souls only do walk who dyed violently, namely ſuch as were ſtrangled, beheaded, crucified, or the like; and that thoſe who dye naturally walk not. If this be his opinion, he is not to be blamed. No ſuch matter, replyed *Dinomachus*, he neither holds that there are ſuch things, or that they were ever ſeen. How ſay you Sir, ſaid *Arignotus*, looking frowningly upon me, do you deny ſuch apparitions as are viſible to all? You muſt pardon my infidelity, ſaid I, who never ſaw any. If I had, I ſhould believe as you do. If ever you go to *Corinth*, ſaid he, ask for the houſe of *Eubatides*, and when 'tis ſhown you, by the *Cranæum*, enter, and tell *Tibius* the Porter, you deſire to ſee the place from whence *Arignotus* the *Pythagorean* conjured away the Devil, and rendred the houſe habitable. May we requeſt the whole ſtory? Replyed *Eucrates*.

The houſe, ſaid he, being haunted, was of a long time undwelt in. If any did adventure to inhabit it, they were ſcared, and perſecuted away by a horrid and diſmal Apparition; ſo that it began to fall to ruine, and the roof to drop; nor had any man the courage to euter into it. When I heard hereof, carrying with me certain *Ægyptian* Books (of which I have ſtore upon ſuch Arguments) I went to the houſe about the firſt ſleep, much diſſwaded, and almoſt violently reſtrained by mine Hoſt, after he knew whither I meat to go; verily ſuppoſing I went to my deſtruction. Notwithſtanding, I taking a Taper with me entred the houſe alone, and placing the link in the great hall, and my ſelf on the floor, read ſilently to my ſelf. In comes the Devil, thinking he was to deal with ſome vulgar fellow, and hoping to fright me like others. A rough, ſhaggy fiend, and blacker then darkneſs

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it ſelf. At his firſt appearance he tryed, by making an orbicular aſſault, to vanquiſh me, and ſometimes turn'd himſelf into a dog, then into a Bull, laſtly into a Lyon. But I having a direful Spell in readineſs, which I pronounced in the *Ægyptick* tongue, charm'd him back into a dark corner of the houſe. And having well obſervep the place where he ſunk, I left ſpeaking. In the morning, after every bodies deſpair, who thought to find me ſlain, like others, I, againſt the expectation, came forth and went to *Eubatides*; And told him the glad news, that he might ſafely inhabit his houſe, which was now purged and freed from Devils. Withall taking him, and many others (who followed out of curioſity) along with me to the place where I ſaw the fiend vaniſh, I commanded it to be digged, with pickaxes and ſpades. We had not digged above a yard deep, but we

found a dead man, conſumed, and nothing left to repreſent him but the Sceleton, which we took up and buried. And from that time the houſe ceaſed to be moleſted with viſions. When *Arignotus* had finiſht his narration, being a man of prodigious wiſdome, and generally reverenced, there were not any of the company who did not condemn me of ſtupidity for being incredulous. Nevertheleſs, I neither daunted with his beard, nor their opinion of him, ſaid, can ſuch a man as you, *Arignotus*, from whom alone I hoped to hear the truth, be fraught alſo with fumes and phantaſmes? you have verified the Proverb, I *have found coales for treaſure.* If, ſaid, *Arignotus*, you neither believe me, nor *Dinomachus*, nor *Cleodemus*, nor *Eucrates*, whom can you produce more Authentick to diſprove us? A man much admired, ſaid I, *Democritus* the *Abderite.* Who was ſo ſmal-

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ly perſwaded of ſuch fictions, that ſhutting himſelf up in a monument without the City, he there lived, wrote, & compoſed nights and days. And when certain boys, deſirous to ſcare and fright him, arrayed themſelves like Ghoſts in black Garments, and wearing counterfeit vizards on their heads, ſurrounded him, and frequently skipt about him, he neither feared their diſguiſes, nor at all regarded them, but wrote on, & bid them ceaſe to play the fools. So firmly did he believe, that ſouls were nothing after their departure from the body. Certainly, replyed *Eucrates*, *Democritus* was the veryer fool to think ſo I will therefore report one ſtory more, in which I my ſelf was an Actor, and took it not up upon relation. Perchance when you hear it, *Tychiades*, the truth of the narration will convince you. When I lived in *Ægypt*, yet a boy, ſent thither by my father, to learn their Arts, I had a

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deſire to ſail to *Coptus*, and from thence to hear the famous *Memnon* ſound at the riſing of the Sun. Whom I heard, not as others ordinarily do, yield an unſignificant ſound; but *Memnon* himſelf utter'd Oracles to me, and open'd his moth in ſeven verſes. Which, but that I ſhould digreſs, I would repeat to you. As we were at Sea, there ſayled in company with us a certain holy Prieſt of *Memphis*, admired for his wiſdome, and skill'd in all the learning of the *Ægytians*. He was ſaid to have lived 320 years in a Cave under ground, and there to have learnt Magick of *Iſis*. You mean my Tutor *Pancrates*, replyed *Arignotus*, he is a religious man, ſhaven, goes in linnen, is very learned, ſpeaks *Greek* purely, is tall of ſtature, hath a bow noſe, full lips, and ſmall legs. The very ſame anſwer'd *Eucrates*. At firſt I knew not who he was. But when I ſaw him, after our arrival in the Port, among many

many other miracles which he wrought, ride upon Crocodiles, approach ſuch cruel beaſts, and they to reverence him, and wag their tayls, I gueſſed him to be ſome ſacred perſon; And by degrees inſinuated my ſelf into his acquaintance and friendſhip. So that at length he revealed all his ſecrets and myſteries to me. To be ſhort, he perſwaded me to leave all my ſervants at *Memphis*, & to accompany him alone; who promiſed we ſhould not want attendants. And from that time thus we lived. When we came into an Inn, he taking the bolt of the door, or a broom or bar, and clothing it, ſpoke a charm to it, and to enable it to go, and in all things to reſemble a man. The thing going forth, would draw water, provide, and dreſs our ſupper, and diligently wait and attend upon us. After his buſineſs was done, he pronounced another charm, and turn'd the broom into a broom again

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and the peſtle into a peſtle. This was an Art, which though I laboured much, I could not learn of him. For this was a myſtery which he denyed me, though in all things elſe he were open. One day, hiding my ſelf in a dark corner, I overheard his charm, which was but three ſyllables. He having appointed the bolt its buſineſs, went into the market. The next day, he having ſome other imployment in the market, I taking the peſtle, and apparelling it, in like manner pronounced the ſyllable, and bid it fetch me ſome water. When it had brought me a baſon full, 'tis enough, ſaid I, fetch no more, but be a peſtle again. But it was ſo far from obeying me, that it ceaſt not to fetch water till it had overflown the room. I, much troubled at the accident, and fearing leaſt if *Pancrates* ſhould return (as he did) he would be much diſpleaſed, took an Axe and cut the peſtle in two. Then both parts taking

king ſeveral buckets fetcht water. And inſtead of one, I had two ſervants. In the mean time *Pancrates* came in, and perceiving what had happen'd, transform'd them into wood again, as they were before I utter'd the ſpell. Shortly after he ſecretly left me, and vaniſhing went I know not whither. And can you now ſaid *Dinomachus*, make a man of a bolt? I have but one half of the Art replyed he, nor am I able to return him into his former ſhape: if therefore, I once make him a water-bearer, we ſhall be driven from the houſe by a deluge. Will you old men, ſaid I, never leave to ſpeak monſtrous fictions? if for no other reaſon, yet for theſe young boyes ſakes, forbear your improbable and terrible narrations till ſome other time, leaſt they be inſenſibly filled with uncouth affrightments and fables. Accuſtome them not to hear things which will make impreſſions,

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and trouble them all their life; make them ſtart at every ſound, and fill them with diverſe ſuperſtitions. You do well, ſaid *Eucrates*, to put me in mind of ſuperſtition. Pray what think you of Oracles, *Tychiades*, and Predictions and Propheſies, uttered by people inſpired, and heard from Curtains, or delivered in verſe by a Virgin, which foretells things to come? Cannot theſe things fall under your belief neither? I forbear to tell you that I have a ſacred ring whoſe ſeal bears the image of *Apollo*, and that the God himſelf frequently talks with me; leaſt you ſhould think I fain this of my ſelf, out of arrogance, I will only tell you what I ſaw and heard from *Amphilochus* at *Mallus*, who entertained me with a long diſcourſe, and conſulted the Oracle concerning my affairs. Next I will report to you what I ſaw at *Pergamus*, and heard at *Patara*. When I ſail'd homeward from *Ægypt*, being inform'd

inform'd that there was an open, infallible Oracle at *Mallus*, which verbatim gave clear anſwers to every mans inquiries, written in a note, and deliver'd to his Prieſt, I thought I ſhould do well, as I ſayl'd by, to try the Oracle, & conſult the God concerning my future fortunes. I by this entrance perceiving that *Eucrates* was likely to lengthen his ſtory, and that he had begun no very compendious diſcourſe of Oracles, and not holding it fit to contradict them longer, leaving him ſailing from *Ægypt* to *Mallus* (for I ſaw them diſcontented with my preſence, as an oppoſer of their fictions) I will take my leave, ſaid I, and go ſeek *Leontichus*; For I have urgent occaſion to meet with him. You, who think humane paſſages not ſufficient, have the liberty to call the Gods into your fabulous diſcourſes. And having ſo ſaid, I departed. They, glad of their freedom, in likelihood entertained and feaſted themſelves with impo-

ſtures. I, cloy'd with what I heard, am come to you *Philocles*, juſt like thoſe who having drunk new wine, and ſwoln their belly, have need to vomit: I would give any money for a potion of oblivion to make me forget, and to waſh away the miſchievous remembrance of what I heard. Who ſtill, methinks, ſee monſters, Devils, and *Hecates*.

Philocles. I alſo, ſuffer'd in your relations, *Tychiades*. For they ſay, that they not only grow diſtracted, and fear the water, who are bitten by mad dogs, but if the man bitten bite another, 'tis equal to the bite of a dog, and begets the like diſtemper; ſo you having been bitten by *Encrates* fictions, have bitten me alſo, and filled my fancy with Devils.

Tychiades. However let us take courage, ſince we have an excellent Antidote to cure us, truth, and right reaſon: Which if we make our rule, we ſhall be troubled with no ſuch empty and vain falſhoods.

FINIS.